IDEA OF REDEMPTION IN THE WRITINGS
OF TOYOHIKO KAGAWA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED 1

  The Problem 1

    Statement of the Problem 1

    Importance of the Study 1

  Definitions of Terms Used 8

    Meiso 8

    Shokuzaiai 8

    Shinsei 9

  Organization of the Dissertation 10

II. FOUNDATIONS OF KAGAWA'S IDEA OF REDEMPTION 13

  Family Background 14

  Flight into Nature 20

  Religious Background 23

    Confucian 23

    Taoist 26

    Buddhist 32

  Conversion 37

  Shinkawa Slums 46

  Evangelism 56

  Last Days 64

CHAPTER PAGE

III. SOURCE OF REDEMPTION 72
  Kagawa's Concept of God 72
    Oneness of God 77
    God as a Personal Reality 79
    God of Immanence 81
  Jesus, The Son of the Triune God 83
    Jesus Christ, the Manifestation of God 85
    Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of Mankind 89
    Jesus Christ, the Shokuzaiai 95

IV. NEED OF REDEMPTION 105
  Materialistic View of Man 105
    Charles Darwin 106
    Karl Marx 108
  The Creativity of Man 111
    Subjectivity 112
    Emperical Fact and Value Judgment 115
    Determinism and Freedom 117
    Free Will 119
    Axiology and Ontology 121
    Problems of Suffering and Evil 129

V. REDEMPTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL PERSON 151
  Salvation 151
    Shazai or Apology 153

CHAPTER PAGE

Some Historical Influences on the Apology Theory . 155
Psychological Aspect of Shazai 157
Result of Redemption 163
Religious Epistemology 167
Three Types of Logic 168
Irrational Experience 172
Intuitive Insight 173
Authoritativeness 174
Affirmation 175
Sense of the Beyond 175
Feeling of Exaltation 177
Personal Note 177
Two Elements in Religious Knowledge 179

VI. REDEMPTION OF SOCIETY 183
Idea of Incarnation 183
The Problem of Poverty in the Slums 186
The Problem of Labor 188
The Problem of Farmers 190
Cooperative Movement 192
Cooperative, the Christian Economic Law 192
The Parent Cooperative Society 196
International Peace 200
Kingdom of God 205
Church and State 206

CHAPTER PAGE

Theology and Politics 207

The Law of Nature 208

Being and Value 209

Christus Consummator 213

VII. CONCLUSIONS 222

Kagawa's Theological Methodology 223

The Problem of Evil 232

BIBLIOGRAPHY 244

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem. This dissertation deals with the problem of salvation as Kagawa faced it, and with the theology which inheres in the solution which he gave to that problem. Its purpose is to present in systematic form the theological views of Toyohiko Kagawa. Also, the plan is to examine some of the major phases of the Christian movement in Japan in the first half of the twentieth century in the light of its religious teachings, the convictions which produced it, and those ideas which sustained and added strength and purpose to its life.

Importance of the Study. Kagawa has had a wider constructive influence in the sphere of practical religion in Japan than any other person who has appeared since the arrival there of the first Christian missionary. Naturally, the books about him are legion. The vast majority, however, treat him historically or from the point of view of religious psychology, economics, the peace movement, and labor and agricultural problems. Comparatively few have subjected his theological position to close scrutiny. This fact reflects the usual conception of Kagawa. He was the evangelist, preacher, social worker, organizer of cooperatives, and active participant in the Federation of

Nations. Thus, it is the practical, not the theological, aspect of his contribution to religion that looms largest in the popular consciousness. "Kagawa's essential contribution to the Christian life of Japan," says Carl Michalson, "is not theological but evangelistic and social."[1] This is obviously in accord with the facts. Even Kagawa's thinking is practical in its aims. The principal stress falls not on opinions and doctrines but on a way of life.

Therefore, Kagawa is not seriously considered as a person who has participated in the theological task in Japan. It is true that he was not a theologian if a theologian must deal with such men as Barth, Brunner, Niebuhr, Bultmann and others. To be sure, Kagawa himself was of the opinion that:

> In the last analysis, theology must be of the grateful redemptive love of Christ. However, theology in Japan, in the main, is argumentative and difficult. It skirts around the far remote route from its proper purpose. Can there be any other way to expound theology than redemptive love? I remind myself that theology must be translated by love when we deliver it to people.[2]

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[1] Carl Michalson, Japanese Contributions to Christian Theology (Phila.: The Westminster Press, 1960), p. 149.

[2] Toyohiko Kagawa, Kamini Tsuiteno Meiso (Meditation about God), (Vol. III of Kagawa Toyohiko Zenshu, ed. Tomio Muto. 24 vols.; Tokyo: Kirisuto Shinbunsha, 1962-64), p. 491; Hereinafter all works of Kagawa will come from this edition unless otherwise indicated. The volume will be cited by Roman numerals. As indicated on page eight, the translation of Kagawa's works is that of the writer of this dissertation, unless otherwise indicated. However, this translation has been compared with the available English translation.

Kagawa did not belong to the professional order of theologians. However, these considerations must not lead one to overlook the importance of the theoretical foundation of Kagawa's message which unites a strongly didactic with a prophetic element. Moreover, many of his publications are devoted exclusively to the treatment of problems of central importance to theology.

There seems to be one distinctive reason why Kagawa has not been seriously considered as a theologian in the light of the dominant theological school in his contemporary Japan. There, in the Japanese Church, Karl Barth was "'the representative Christian of the Western world,'"[3] with "a 'system' which stresses the 'infinite qualitative difference' between time and eternity in both its negative and its positive meaning. 'God is in heaven and you are on earth.'"[4] Kagawa, with his emphasis on "ethics of the Kingdom of God from immanental value judgments,"[5] was the natural object of severe criticism. Some regarded Kagawa's theology as a "contortion of genuine Christianity."[6] This attitude appears to be shared by many Japanese theologians whose training in the dialectical theology can hardly tolerate such thought as Kagawa's whose view, no doubt, has been influenced by the social gospel at the turn of the century with the stress in the sociopolitical dimension of the Christian ethic.

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[3] Michalson, op. cit., p. 148, citing Yamamoto's Eschatology, p. 259.

[4] Karl Barth, Epistle to the Romans, trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns, (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 10.

[5] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 81.

[6] Keiichiro Shimada, "The Cross of Kagawa Toyohiko," Kirisuto Shinbun (The Christ Weekly), April 30, 1966, p. 2.

To be sure, Kagawa himself did not take the time to write a textbook in systematic theology. He was content merely to express his thoughts as occasion demanded, and like Paul, Augustine, Luther and Wesley before him, his ideas must be gleaned from writings produced at sundry times in response to various needs. He did not start out to construct an entirely new system of theology like other creative geniuses in religion. Rather, he was possessed of the one central truth that man is regenerated by redemptive love revealed in the person and work of Jesus Christ, and perfected in the community of Christians whose cooperative brotherhood is built on sacrificial love. In the light of this truth old doctrines took on new meaning for him, and he saw the remainder of theology as aspects of his own idea of redemptive love and its practice.

There seem to be some additional factors which may be cited in order to establish the importance of this study:

Firstly, although this dissertation is written on the assumption that Kagawa was not systematic in the arrangement of his ideas, it does not warrant the assumption that he was inconsistent or contradictory in his theological opinions. Once the central purpose of his teaching has been discovered, it is not difficult to group the individual beliefs around it and to see how they fall naturally into place as orderly parts of a harmonious system of divinity.

Secondly, this dissertation is written with the purpose of acquainting Western Christians with some aspects of the theological situation in the younger church, particularly in Japan, a situation which has been either unknown or dismissed as a sheer imitation of Western theology. It is evident that Christianity in Japan or in other parts of the Eastern world, for that matter, is facing a crucial turning point. The burden of history makes tremendous demands upon theologians of the so-called younger churches in the East. For example, Kitagawa states that

> ...the theological question before the church in Japan is two-fold: (1) how to understand and interpret the Christian gospel for the people in the historic, cultural, and existential situation in Japan, and (2) how to interpret Japanese history and culture nourished by Buddhism, Shinto, and Confucianism in the light of Christianity.[7]

In this writer's opinion, the Japanese Christian Church's lack of interest and perception in this two-fold task is evident. Only Kagawa has been concerned with this problem for a number of years. The church situation in post-war Japan reflects the ambiguities and difficulties within the social, political, economic and cultural realms, but the study of the life and thought of Kagawa might indicate one effort to clarify the task.

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[7] Joseph M. Kitagawa, "Some Reflections on Theology in Japan," Anglican Theological Review, XVIII (January, 1961), p. 391).

This writer holds the conviction that all authentic theological work must take place within the church's ongoing conversation concerning the ultimate source of its common life. Theologians must be aware that they cannot approach the task alone because each stands in the midst of a vast company whose presence is a constant inspiration. Each theologian begins his work with an inestimable debt to the past and an incalculable responsibility to the future, both of which drive him to try to learn from those who have preceded him so that all may ever seek for a more adequate expression. This study intentionally is directed by this sense of solidarity with all who attempt to labor at the perennial theological task. Michalson is right in saying:

> If Christian history, as an ecumenical actuality, is to persist in the future, the West must take up its side of the theological partnership and converse with the East.[8]

This dissertation then aims to be an instrument for this theological partnership between West and East through the understanding of Kagawa's theological writings.

Thirdly, this work is further justified by the monumental work of publishing Kagawa's complete works as Kagawa Toyohiko Zenshu in twenty-four volumes. The Kagawa Toyohiko Zenshu is the "only necessary and sufficient material for Kagawa research."[9] It provides definitive material for Kagawa researchers. This was edited by and commented on by Tomio Muto, and published one volume a month from the Christ Weekly Publisher, Incorporated. This publication, begun in September, 1962, was completed in August, 1964. It was the desire of the friends of Kagawa, even before his death on April 23, 1960, that his entire literary works be published.

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[8] Michalson, op. cit., p. 162.

[9] Tomio Muto, in his personal letter to this writer, dated April 8, 1964.

In this writer's opinion, as was expressed by Muto, this publication demands some systematic treatment of Kagawa's theology. Yet, there has not been any theological effort to systematize Kagawa's thought except in some short essays.[10] Thus, this writer's effort is a logical attempt to help fill this vacancy with the hope that many will follow in this effort.

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[10] Some of the outstanding essays which deal with Kagawa's theological ideas directly or indirectly are as follows: Carl Furuya, "Blessed Are the Poor," Sons of the Prophets (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 192-204; Kiyoko T. Cho, An Essay on Kagawa Toyohiko (Tokyo, International Christian University, n.d.), which is an English translation of the same essay published in Shiso No Kagaku (Science of Thought) January and February, 1960; Tomio Muto, Kagawa Toyohiko No Rokumen (Six Sides of Toyohiko Kagawa), (Tokyo: The Christ Weekly Publisher, Inc., 1965); Tomio Muto; Shito Pouro To Kagawa Toyohiko (Apostle Paul and Toyohiko Kagawa), (Tokyo: The Christ Weekly Publisher, Inc., 1961); Mikio Sumiya, Kagawa Toyohiko, (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan Shuppanbu, 1966); Yoshitaka Kumano; "Shiteki Kirisutokyo" (Poetic Christianity) Fukuin to Sekai XX nos. 7, 8, and 9 (July, August and September, 1965); Masao Takenaka, "The Impact of Kagawa and His Movement," The Study of Christianity and Social Problems, VI (April, 1962); Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyo Gakusei Kai (ed.) Kagawa (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kan, 1960).

II. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

This writer has been able to make direct use of the available English translations of the Japanese works referred to in this study. Although some of these translations are unusually good, others are almost equally inferior and therefore were disqualified for the purposes of the present study. All quotations from writings without any indication of English translation which are originally appearing in Japanese are the writer's translation and should not be considered the responsibility of other translators. He needs only to add here that he has left the Japanese words meiso, shokuzaiai, and shinsei untranslated.

Meiso. Meiso is fully discussed in the second section of the sixth chapter and is translated as "meditation." It is Kagawa's major epistemic method in religious experience and its major characteristics are found in such as irrational, intuitive, authoritative, affirmative, personal qualities as well as inclusion of the sense of the Beyond. It must be clearly distinguished from satori of Zen Buddhism; and also from Kagawa's other terms such as ronri or logical, and hironri or anti-logical laws of thought.

Shokuzaiai. Shokuzaiai is translated as "redemptive love" which is the subject of this dissertation, and is the norm of the entire Kagawan theological perspective. Shokuzaiai in Jesus as the Christ is the full manifestation of God Himself. Thus, often Kagawa identifies shokuzaiai with God Himself, the transcendent reality, Who was historically manifested among mankind in the person and work of Jesus Christ, and presently and immanently among those who believe in Him through the Holy Spirit. Shokuzaiai is the Christian kerygma which was the message of the entire ministry of Kagawa.

Shinsei. Shinsei is translated as "regeneration." It is the outcome of those who come to know shokuzaiai through meiso. Kagawa experienced it as a student at Tokushima Middle School which experience transformed his entire life. In Japanese, shin means "new life," or "newly reborn." Kagawa uses this term to designate one who is born into this world spiritually; one who must be born a second time, of a new Father, into a new family, if he is to have eternal life and is to become the child of God. Human beings, apart from Adam, came into this world only one way, by a process of birth. This is the result of conception where the parents gave to the child the nature, the life, which they themselves possessed. If he is to be born into God's family, it must be through a miracle of a new birth, of a new Father who can give a new nature to him, so that he may be called the son, or the child, of God.

By contrast to shokuzai, or redemption which emphasizes an act of setting free from the divine origin, shinsei, or regeneration is referred to the result of such divine act in shokuzaiai.

III. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

There is difficulty in selecting a starting point and a method of procedure. To one who has just begun to theologize and who wishes to defend Christian teachings, it might seem most natural to prove first the existence of God. This would dispose of naturalism, and in the time remaining one could proceed to elaborate some metaphysics, epistemology, psychology and other parts of a well-grounded system.

In its general structure, Kagawa's view of Christianity may be described as a theology of experience. His affirmation of Christian experience is considered his main characteristic. Against the background of his childhood family tragedies, his encounter with the dialectical materialism and Non-Christian religions, Kagawa is seen as a reactionary.

In the second chapter, therefore, Kagawa is seen as a person in revolt with an emotional reaction against an early frustration and sadness with human, social and natural evils, against the heritage of his family background and a search for salvation among the religions of Japan. The reaction marks a transition from Buddhism to a genuine gospel through his conversion experience in Tokushima, Japan.

In the third chapter, the source of this experience, the reality of God, is examined. The relation of redemption to the concept of God, his power and his goodness, and an attempt to ascertain the place of the redemptive act in the moral government of the universe is found.

The attempt to think about God leads immediately to a host of related questions which are included under the term "theology." There will be discussed the question of man's relation to God, the Ultimate Source of things including what he deems to be good. Thus, one must ask about revelation. How does man know what God is like? Can God be discovered by the same methods that discover scientific truth, or must God Himself give some revelation of his nature to man? If God must reveal himself, where and how is he revealed? Since Kagawa found the full revelation in the redemptive love in Jesus as the Christ, this chapter deals primarily with his Christology as the provision of redemption.

This leads to the concept of sin. Sin occurs when man is out of harmony with the Source of his being and when he betrays his highest values. It is interesting to notice that even an ostensibly atheistic system like that of dialectical materialism cannot escape the problem of sin. Those who betray what the Communist believes to be the highest values are not called "sinners" but they are called "Wall Street minions," "warmongers," "Capitalist imperialists," "revisionists" and so on. Thus, chapter four, deals with hamartiology which indicates the need of redemption.

The question of sin leads to the question of salvation. Salvation occurs when a man, in some sense, overcomes the separation between himself and the Source of his being and when he becomes loyal to the highest values. How does man achieve salvation? How does he overcome sin? Why does man sin in the first place? Why does man fail to achieve the highest values? Can he overcome sin and remain true to the highest that he knows by trying hard, or does he need help from beyond himself? These questions are dealt with in chapter five.

Behind these lie still more questions. How can men best organize themselves to work together for good? That is, what about the Mutual Aid or Brotherhood Movement of Christians? Where is everything leading man? Where are men going? For what can one hope? What is the reality and actuality of the Kingdom of God? Thus in the sixth chapter, this writer deals with the outcome of the redemptive love of Jesus Christ in the Church.

In the conclusion, there is suggested some outstanding contributions of Kagawa to the church universal, as well as some weaknesses in his writings.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDATIONS OF KAGAWA'S IDEA OF REDEMPTION

Every country and every age has its great men. Scattered throughout the nineteen centuries which have elapsed since the resurrection of Jesus Christ have been those who remained steadfast in their dedication to the Christian principle of death to the old man and life to the new. Such a man was Toyohiko Kagawa, a Japanese Christian, who was probably more venerated by the West than by his own people. Called by some a "saint after the Franciscan pattern,"[1] Kagawa was not in the formal sense a systematic theologian. In fact, he was often sharply anti-theological in his approach to Christian teachings. He scorned what he called "pulpit religion" in favor of an actual realization of the very essence of Christian theology--love for God and for others. One author has said, "Kagawa simply could not get along with those theologians who were more interested in the doctrine of God than in God Himself, more in Christology than in Christ, and more in the teaching of love than in the practicing of love."[2]

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[1] Charles R. Erdman, "Toyohiko Kagawa: A Tribute," Princeton Seminary Bulletin, III (October, 1958), 29.

[2] Yasuo C. Furuya, "Blessed Are The Poor," Sons of the Prophets (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 199.

I. FAMILY BACKGROUND

Although the biography of Kagawa is not the present subject, a short sketch of his life shows the relation between his life and his teaching. The power behind Kagawa's voluminous works and messages was what may be called the Calvary experience of his own life. Toyohiko Kagawa was born on the tenth of July, 1888, the twenty-first year of Emperor Meiji's reign. Toyohiko's father, Junichi, and wife, Michi, were childless.[3] This was a great disappointment, since a Japanese husband desires to be the father of many children. Thus, Junichi felt justified in leaving his childless wife to a lonely life in their country home at Awa and in taking a special fancy to a geisha, installing her as his auxiliary wife.[4] To this union five children were born.[5]

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[3] His father's original name was Denjiro but when he was adopted into the Kagawa family, his name was changed to Junichi. The record states that he was born on March 17 in the second year of Kaei, or 1847, and he died suddenly on November 19, 1891 at the age of forty-four.

[4] Her real name was Kame, and her geisha name was Masue. She was neat and clean as well as graceful and beautiful, having rare intelligence and superior ability. Unable to be comforted by his sickly and uncultured wife, Junichi was constantly drawn closer to Kame.

[5] William Axling in Kagawa (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1946), p. 4, and Ralph E. Downie in Orphans All (Los Angeles: M. B. Akahori, 1947), p. 2, incorrectly state that the elder Kagawa had four children from his union with Kame. According to Cyril J. Davey in his Kagawa of Japan (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960) p. 5, their children were: Tanichi, the first son, born on June 13, 1873; Ei, their only daughter, born on January 2, 1879; Toyohiko; Yoshinori, the third son, born on February 14, 1891; and Masuyoshi, born on January 2, 1893. Further, in this situation, their life was actually what could be called "union." For in the Japanese family, lineage, not

Their third child Toyohiko was named after Toyouke Daijin, god of the Osahiko shrine close to the father's old home.[6]

Junichi was proud of his family, and he desired to secure for the boys their proper inheritance. Expecting his sons someday to be his successors, he conformed to the legal requirements and took out adoption papers to make them his own sons. When Toyohiko was four years of age tragedy swept over the Kagawa household. The elder Kagawa died in November, 1891, without recovering from dysentery. Toyohiko felt the beginning of the loneliness which was to accompany him for the rest of his youthful days. Two months later, Kame fell ill and died as suddenly as Junichi. Her death came only eight days after giving birth to her fourth son Masuyoshi. After serious consultation by members of the Kagawa clan, twenty-year-old Tanichi inherited his father's shipping business in Kobe. Ei and Toyohiko were sent to the father's legal wife in Awa. For a long time Toyohiko did not forget the sad memory of their departure from the port at Kobe. He remembered standing on the deck of the boat, waving their little hands to their young brothers as well as many loved ones. This was the climax of Toyohiko's sad family

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marriage, was sacred. The emphasis was placed on the relation between the self and parents and ancestors, not self and wife. Marriage was for the purpose of obtaining heirs for the house. E. O. Reischauer in East Asia The Modern Transformation (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965) p. 513, comments: "The position of the daughter-in-law was partly defined by the proverb, "The womb is borrowed." If a marriage was childless the "bride" might be returned, or an heir might be adopted, or in a well-to-do family a concubine might be set up."

[6] Haruichi Yokoyama, Kagawa Toyohiko Den (Life of Toyohiko Kagawa), (Tokyo: Shinyaku Shobo, 1950), pp. 5, 6.

life.[7]

Michi, the neglected wife of Junichi, took the two middle children into her home, although she could not bring herself to show them warmth and affection.[8] She was in fact hysterically strict and quick to punish the children of Junichi and his concubine. Toyohiko's grandmother Sei was stricter than Michi, but she was a woman of reason and she loved Toyohiko.[9] Toyohiko did not realize for some time that his father had died as a result of his self-indulgence and dissipation. But "later, when he saw the same process repeating itself in his brother, he accepted the truth."[10] Tanichi rarely remained at home, preferring rather to visit the geisha house constantly at the cost of mortgaging his inherited properties. Toyohiko recalls his search for Tanichi on one occasion when he went from one exclusive geisha house to another until he found his brother, half-drunk, attended by two or three geishas who giggled while Tanichi fumbled with his money.[11] In his autobiographical confession in Kami To Shokuzaiai Eno Kangeki (The Challenge of Redemptive Love), Kagawa records, "I must be aware of an inherent family tendency which would bring to me the same life and to the same end."[12]

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[7] Yokoyama, op. cit., p. 9.

[8] Charlie May Simon, A Seed Shall Serve (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1958), p. 17.

[9] When Davey observes in op. cit., p. 9, that "Michi seems to have accepted him more readily than her mother," and when Axling, in op. cit., p. 5, describes Michi and Sei as equally resenting Toyohiko, they differ from Yokoyama's description upon which the present writer heavily depends. Kagawa in his autobiographical sketch describes Sei as a strict woman who specialized in scolding Toyohiko, while he mentions nothing about Michi, his step-mother. The present writer infers that Kagawa had more affection and warmth toward his step-grandmother than to his step-mother. When Simon states that "Toyohiko found himself from the beginning turning more to the older of the two women," in op. cit., p. 20, he agrees with Yokoyama and is probably closer to the fact.

[10] Davey, op. cit., p. 6.

Toyohiko's elder sister "was eccentric and hysterical and spent much of her time in tears in a back chamber" of the farm house in Awa.[13] She showed her brother no love, and they never played together. Kagawa attributes her reclusiveness to the fact that "she was forced to do the severest kind of physical labor and was almost daily beaten by her grandmother."[14] Even the villagers who worked on the farm contributed to the unfortunate plight of the young lad. To them he was an object of scorn and suspicion, a town-bred child whom their parents talked about with disgust. Kagawa recalls that now and then a village child would taunt him, calling him "child of concubine."[15]

Thus in his formative years Kagawa was unloved and unwanted, and to a sensitive child with his early upbringing this was unbearable.

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[11] Kagawa, Kami To Shokuzaiai Eno Kangeki (The Challenge of Redemptive Love), 383.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Axling, op. cit., p. 5.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Yokoyama, op. cit., p. 11.

There was no one to whom he could turn; he was ignored even by his own sister. This loneliness and isolation were, in the estimation of this writer, significant contributing factors toward his understanding of man, his treatment of sin, and his approach to the problem of human suffering. The effects of these influences are expressed in such works as Kunan Ni Taisuru Taido (Attitude Toward Afflection),[16] Nokosaretaru Toge (Thorns That Remain),[17] and Kami To Kunan No Kokufuku (God and Victory Over Suffering).[18] Axling regards this stage of development as a "crisis in the life of the lad."[19]

When Fumie, the daughter of the school janitor, died of pleurisy, young Toyohiko was held to be in some way responsible. The girl had been carried to her home badly hurt, and the children charged that Toyohiko had knocked her over and pushed her into the ditch. He found himself without an adequate defense because the children formed a coalition against him and denied his every attempt at an explanation. Unable to establish his innocence, the unhappy boy took the little money he had managed to save and bought gifts of fruit and sweets for Fumie. "When she finally died, he was unable to console himself, feeling as though in some mysterious way he had, in fact, been the cause of everything after all."[20] Kagawa recalled this incident just a half year before his death in an article in Kirisuto Shinbun (Christ Weekly). He wrote, "The saddest event in my entire life was confessing the sins which I had not committed and spending my savings for medical expenses for her."[21]

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[16] Published on February 25, 1924 by Keiseisha Shoten, Tokyo.

[17] Published on December 15, 1926 by Nichiyo Sekaisha, Kyoto.

[18] Published on September 18, 1932 by Jitsugyo-no Nihonsha, Tokyo.

[19] Axling, op. cit., p. 4.

At the time of Fumie's death, Kagawa was only ten years old, a year too young to leave the primary school. Deeply hurt by this incident, he managed to persuade Tanichi to intercede with his grandmother that he might be allowed to attend the Tokushima Middle School. Pretending to be of age, he was accepted by the school. "There was hardly a happier occasion in my life," says Kagawa, "than when I heard the news that I was accepted by the school."[22] Thus Toyohiko left the small village of Awa after six years of loneliness to enter a new and the most important stage of his early life.

Speculating about Toyohiko's reasons for embracing the Christian faith, Masuyoshi, his youngest brother, points to two basic motivating factors stemming from this early period. Of primary importance were the effects of the misunderstanding which accompanied the untimely death of Fumie, the daughter of the school caretaker. Secondly, Masuyoshi states that Toyohiko was constantly grieved by his playmates who referred to him as "son of a concubine."[23] It is not surprising that Christianity should have a strong appeal to one who desperately searched for someone to understand him and rescue him from the sinful society into which he was born.

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[20] Davey, op. cit., p. 12.

[21] Kagawa, Zoku: Sorano Tori Ni Yashinawarete XXIV, 557, originally appeared in the Kirisuto Shinbun, October 31, 1959.

[22] Ibid.

II. FLIGHT INTO NATURE

Axling describes Kagawa's home in Awa as a great thatched-roof house with

> . . . spacious rooms with thin tissue-paper doors and lattice windows and the floors covered with soft straw mats trailing one in seemingly endless successions. Outhouses of every size and shape stood like silent sentinels in the surrounding yard. The whole establishment spoke in sad subdued tones of a glory that was no more.[24]

In this house Kagawa passed his childhood in unrelenting solitude. His days were brightened only by the ingenuities of his observation. His eyes and his mind provided him with the chief pleasures of life. Alone in his room or in the Japanese garden of his Awa house he communed with giant pines, red maples, and stone lanterns.[25] Behind the shadow of reeds on the bank of the Yoshino River, only a stone's throw from the house, he talked with the crabs and snails. In the lonely evening hours, he was comforted by the birds as he ate mulberries in the field. A mile to the north the moat-enclosed Imperial mausoleum of one of the ancient emperors lifted its head above the surrounding field.[26] Axling continues:

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[23] Masuyoshi Kagawa, "Gokaini Kurushimu," Bulletin For Kagawa Toyohiko Zenshu, No. 23 (August, 1964), 2-3.

[24] Axling, op. cit., p. 5.

[25] Ibid.

> Brought up in such an atmosphere, the lonely boy made the bamboo grove, the Imperial mausoleum or the sand dunes along the river his rendezvous. Here as a wee lad he learned to commune with Nature in all her alluring moods.[27]

Before Kagawa entered Tokushima Middle School, he had acquired a vital part of his education in the serenity of Shikoku Island. Nature revealed herself to him in the fields and on the plain, in the moat and in the banks and sand dunes of the river Yoshino. "Here in her fairest form," says Axling, "she exerted a subtle influence over the unfolding life of this lad and gave a set to his soul."[28] Kagawa indeed closely observed Nature, God's Second Book. Even when he grew older he did not fail to respond to her mysterious moods. When in communion with nature, Kagawa became a communicant of the Deity, feeling it his priestly task to interpret his vision of Nature to others.

Kagawa was pre-Christian when he forgot himself in the wonders of nature--the living inhabitation of the world, the spiritual power of the air, the rocks and the waters. He perceived nature not as a mechanism, but as life and energy in a manner similar to the nineteenth century Romanticist. One element of Kagawa's attitude toward nature remained constant. God is seen not only as the Author of creation, but as an actual power within it. Kagawa does not simply nod in the direction of the first chapter of Genesis, but in its passionate study of trees,[29] earth,[30] skies,[31] mountains,[32] seas[33] and living things, he sees a reconstruction of the genesis itself. The stamp of the Maker seems fresh upon His works. Kagawa still hears the pronouncement, "And it is good."

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., p. 6.

[28] Ibid., p. 11.

Kagawa protests loudly against modern industry's waste of nature and men. To him, ugliness in nature is a kind of death, a negation. His chief aim is to declare the perfection and eternal beauty of the work of God. He finds the "joyous presence of beauty in the open face of nature."[34] Nature also revealed to Kagawa "the ghastly reality of the hell on earth that man's inhumanity to man has made."[35] Thus, his wonder at the mystery and loveliness of nature is the fundamental tenet of his system, and it becomes one of the major motives for his passionate rebellion against needless human squalor and cruelty. This is the thought of the mature Kagawa. In his childhood, however, he had hidden himself in nature without having experienced the full consciousness of the Maker of nature. He knew both the warm reception and the joy of nature and the rejection and sorrow which he experienced at home.

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[29] Kagawa, Youji Shizen Kyoan (A Teaching Program for Children through Nature), 464-469.

[30] Ibid., pp. 461-464; cf. also Kagawa, Shizenbi To Tsuchi No Shukyo (Beauty of Nature and Love of Soil), pp. 218, 219, 236-242.

[31] Kagawa, A Teaching Program for Children through Nature, p. 245.

[32] Kagawa, Beauty of Nature and Love of Soil, p. 245.

[33] Ibid., pp. 243-245.

[34] Sherwood Eddy, "Introduction," Songs from the Slums (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1935), pp. 11, 12.

III. RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

Confucian. At the age of nine Kagawa was sent to Daienji, Zen Temple, in Ohtsu village to study the Four Books and Five Classics of Confucianism.[36] He recalls later his fascination in reading such books as Ta Hsueh, Chung Young and Mengtsu. When he was at the Maiji Gakuin he had a splendid opportunity to deepen his knowledge of Confucianism by attending the reading course in Mengtzu.[37] In his Toyo Shiso No

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[35] Ibid., p. 12.

[36] While the fifth Han monarch, Wu Ti (140-87 B.C.) declared the Shih Ching (The Book of Poetry), the Shu Ching (The Book of History), the I Ching (The Book of Change), the Ch'un Ch'iu (The Spring and Autumn Annals), and the Li Chi (The Book of Rites) to be Confucian classics; the Neo-Confucianists raised the Four Books--the Ta Hsueh (The Great Learning), Chung Yung (Golden Mean or Central Harmony), Lun Yu (The Analects) and Mengtzu (The Works of Mencius)--to canonical status.

[37] Kagawa, Toyo Shiso No Saiginmi (Re-thinking Oriental Philosophy), 87.

Saiginmi he states:

> The co-operative consciousness of redemptive love, which reaches Japan by the mercy of God, demands the renewing of our understanding of the hereditary factors of Japanese tradition, which has been basically cultured by the Oriental spirit, so that we can remove the malignant heredity and promote the good essence of Japanese culture.[38]

Thus Kagawa stresses the need for a re-examination of Oriental ideas from the view of shokuzaiai or redemptive love.

Kagawa studied Confucianism at an early age, and its influence can be seen in his system of theology and philosophy. Realizing the impossibility of summarizing Confucianism in its entirety, the present writer would like to suggest some outstanding contributions of Confucian doctrine to the formation of Kagawa's theology. Obviously, these are both positive and negative. The most important idea which Kagawa carried over from the system of Confucianism is the concept of jen. It is the perfect virtue of human beings; it is the only road to peace and harmony within a society. Concerning the existence and functions of jen, Confucius stressed the importance not only of internalizing the principles of jen to make them a part of man's natural disposition, but also of putting them into daily practice. Kagawa indicates that an act of jen should be motivated by humility, a feeling that one has not yet achieved what he ought to achieve.[39] The way of chun-tzu or

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[38] Ibid., p. 83.

[39] Ibid., p. 88.

"noblemen" is indeed the way of evolution motivated by desire not to remain as hsiao-jen or as mean men.

Generally speaking, Kagawa received from Confucianism three influences. Firstly, he received great influence from the teaching of jen. Nevertheless, Kagawa found fulfillment of Confucian jen, or benevolence, in the Christian teaching of redemptive love. However, a distinctive difference within similarity must be noted between the two concepts. Gerald Cooke ably expresses it when he writes:

> In both his teaching and in his living Jesus' "love" was radically sacrificial. Confucius sought to instill in his pupils what Max Weber has called a "calculated helpfulness," but Jesus' understanding of love goes beyond calculation... Jesus' statement of the Golden Rule and his basically Jewish outlook show that he did not demand self-depreciation or self-abuse in acts of love toward others. In this he is akin to Confucius; yet the unconditioned, unformalized and unregulated outgoingness of love in Jesus' teachings put him far from Confucius. It would be difficult indeed to imagine Confucius taking the part of the father in the Prodigal Son parable. The way in which New Testament love overreaches and confounds a strict rule of fairness would have been repugnant to Confucius.[40]

Kagawa states: "We Orientals take the good teachings of Confucius as the standard of our daily life and supply what is lacking in Confucius by Christ, thus we can have perfect religious life."[41]

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[40] Gerald Cooke, As Christians Face Rival Religions, (New York: Association Press, 1962), pp. 75-76.

[41] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 91.

Secondly, Confucian teaching of li raised profound questions in Kagawa's mind when he had to reject the example of his father and brother as the pattern of life to follow. This conflict resulted in his life-long search for the understanding of evil and suffering.[42]

Thirdly, Kagawa was influenced by the fact that Confucianism did not develop its own communio sanctrum as such. The Confucian-inspired "Family-ism" developed what might be termed an "immanental theocracy," grounded securely in the family system.[43] This writer believes Kagawa's famous Kingdom of God Movement may typify his effort of "secularization of the sacred." In his concern for the poor, the laborer and the farmer, he wanted to create an immanental theocracy rather than a secluded and called out communio sanctorum. His effort was to reveal God in every phase of human life. The immanence of transcendence was his life-time effort and the transcendence of immanence was his life-time concern.

Taoist. Kagawa seems to place Taoism as one of the major influences upon his system of philosophy and theology. It is, therefore, important to trace and establish Taoism's influence upon Kagawa. He believes that there is open faith in the Absolute Existence in the teaching of the Tao Te Ching.[44] There are many claims that Lao-tzu is essentially nihilist, but Kagawa emphatically objects to this view. He sees the Absolute God as the Constancy behind the apparent nothingness of Buddhist doctrine. Particularly in Chapter XXV of the Tao Te Ching, Tao is described as the nameless beginning of all things, even prior to Heaven and Earth. Tao is unchanging and permeates everything; hence, Tao must be a kind of constant, universal principle that underlies all phenomena.[45]

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[42] John B. Noss, Man's Religions (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), pp. 379-381.

[43] Joseph M. Kitagawa, Religions of The East, (Phila.: The Westminster Press, 1960), p. 85.

Everything in the universe patterns itself after the dictates of a higher being, such as man patterning his ways after those of Thien, or heaven. But Tao, being supreme, follows itself. Tao is so of itself, without any outside force or influence. Above all, Tao is "always so" because it is the dynamic law of change. It dictates the rhythm of growth and decay, but since it is itself the principle of growth, it remains constant. This Tao, the Constancy behind apparent nothingness, is skillfully observed by Lao-tzu.

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[44] Concerning the authorship of the Tao Te Ching, there are various theories. Authoritative scholarship is convinced that, even if the legendary Lao-tzu may have lived and actually fathered the Taoist philosophy in the period prior to Confucius, he did not write the Tao Te Ching. However, Kagawa identifies Lao-tzu as the author of Tao Te Ching according to the customary way of his day, Kagawa, op. cit., p. 92; cf. also Noss, op. cit., p. 345.

[45] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 91.

> We look at it, and we do not see it, and we name it "the Equatable." We listen to it, and we do not hear it, and we name it "the Inaudible." We try to grasp it, and do not get hold of it, and we name it "the Subtle." With these three qualities, it cannot be made the subject of description; and hence, we blend them together and obtain The One.[46]

This Tao is the unchanging universal principle that dwells in everything. This implies, then, everything in its original state reflects Tao. If man does not tamper with his heart, so that his heart remains untainted, he has the best chance of comprehending this mysterious universal principle.[47]

Furthermore, the doctrine of wu wei probably influenced Kagawa's basic epistemic methodology of meiso or meditation more than any other concept. Wu wei may be translated as "do-nothing-ness" or "inaction."[48] Daisetsu Suzuki reminds his reader, however, that men must not forget that Lao-tzu couples Tao with Te, a general term given to the dynamic aspect of Tao which in a sense represents it as it moves out into the world of the finites.[49] Lao-tzu points out also the dangers of intellectual onesidedness which may stop the process of moving beyond the finiteness of things. Suzuki comments:

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[46] James Legge(tr.), The Texts of Taoism (New York: The Julian Press, Inc., 1959), p. 105; also quoted in Kagawa's Toyo Shiso No Saiginmi, pp. 91-92.

[47] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 95.

[48] In chapter XXXVIII, Lao-tzu states: "The man of superior virtue is non-acting and makes no intentional efforts to accomplish."

[49] Daisetsu Suzuki, "Introduction," The Texts of Taoism (New York: The Julian Press, Inc., 1959), p. 13.

> Intellect, or knowledge (chihui) cuts the living Tao into pieces in the attempt to delve into the secrets of living and tries to synthesize Tao, the Infinite, out of the cut-and-dried and utterly dead pieces of finiteness. This is the way we twist, warp, mar Tao or Mysterious Virtue (hsuan-te) into every possible shape of unnaturalness and abnormality.[50]

This anti-intellectual and dynamic aspect of Tao leads to the most persistent theme in Taoism, self-surrender. Kagawa quotes the following in his Toyo Shizo No Saiginmi:

> The thirty spokes unite in the one nave; but it is on the empty space (for the axle), that the use of the wheel depends. Clay is fashioned into vessels; but it is on their empty hollowness, that their use depends. The door and windows are cut out (from the walls) to form an apartment; but it is on the empty space (within), that its use depends. Therefore, what has a (positive) existence serves for profitable adaptation, and what has not that for (actual) usefulness.[51]

To become as a little child, to empty oneself like a deflated skin, to yield downhill, never up, and yet ultimately reach the infinite sea--these are among the other typically Taoist symbols of the law of self-surrender. Thus Taoism is often confounded with quietism and escapism as it seems to emphasize the static aspect of the Tao and to neglect and ignore its dynamic aspect.[52] Huston Smith warns that self-surrender is only half of the truth, or rather entirely misses the point.[53] Indeed, "creative quietude" is a better rendering for Wu wei.[54]

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 93.

Kagawa was amazed by Lao-tzu's teaching that "it is the way of the Tao to recompense injury with kindness."[55] In this, he sees the embryo of the redemptive love of Christ. Says Kagawa:

> Lao-tzu always gazed at the universe of the Absolute One. Thus, jen needs to be directed to mankind regardless of good or bad. Love for the good alone is not genuine love. Lao-tzu is far superior on this attitude of love in comparison to Confucius... This jen of Lao-tzu is said to be very close to the Christian spirit.[56]

Kagawa also indicates the Taoist stresses Yuzu-jizai or perfect adaptability of self-existence transcending any restriction, as is seen in the movement of water. This is also expressed by the Apostle Paul:

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[52] Suzuki, op. cit., p. 14.

[53] Huston Smith, The Religions of Man (New York: The New American Library, 1958), p. 189.

[54] Kagawa, loc. cit.

[55] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 94.

[56] Ibid.

> We are treated as imposters, and yet are true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as punished, and yet not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing everything (II Corinthians 6:8-11).[57]

When this concept of Yuzu-jizai is infinitely extending, including the least, it becomes usefulness. Nevertheless, says Kagawa, this Yuzu-jizai has fallen into the mere dialectical plan--affirming the sensual desire of man. In this corruption of Taoism, men affirm what they are, choose ignorance over wisdom, respect sensuality as true humanity, willfully admit selfishness, and escape from social responsibility.[58] Thus the greatest weakness in Taoism, according to Kagawa, is its shallow understanding of human sinfulness.

Should he then throw this ancient system out of his Christian teaching? By no means. When Christ said in his parable: "The kingdom of heaven is like treasure hidden in a field, which a man found and covered up; then in his joy he goes and sells all that he has and buys that field" (Matthew 13:44) he included Taoism as a hidden treasure. Kagawa thus concludes:

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[57] Hereinafter biblical quotations are taken from the Revised Standard Version unless otherwise indicated.

[58] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 95.

> The Christian movement in the Orient must remember that we must gather the good teachings of Lao-tzu, Chuang-tzu, Confucius, and Buddha, excluding their wrong teachings, and replace them with the Christian spirit.[59]

Besides Confucian and Laotzuan influences, Kagawa was deeply touched by the Buddhist spirit. In fact, he felt a mystical warmth in Buddhism which Confucianism and Taoism to some degree lack.

Buddhist. Before his conversion, Kagawa was decidedly anti-Christian and was a devout Buddhist as was his father, his brother, and his uncle. While at his uncle's home, he joined his uncle's family in meditation before the family alcove shrine. Kneeling on the tatami mat, Kagawa tried to concentrate on the teaching of Gautama, the Buddha.

Kagawa knew well the teaching that suffering is due to "wrong states of mind."[60] Moreover, suffering is a growing thing. Unless checked by the annihilation of self, it will increase and multiply. Kagawa also knew that Gautama taught that suffering can be checked and utterly destroyed. There is no iron law of necessity that constrains men. The means by which it is destroyed is the Eightfold Way:

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[59] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 96.

[60] Lord Chalmers, Further Dialogues of the Buddha (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), vol. I, p. 15.

> ...this is the noble Eightfold Way: namely, right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration.[61]

In the opinion of this writer, Kagawa's skepticism was particularly directed to Gautama's understanding of man. For him, man is a heap of happenings: mind is an everflowing river, not one drop of which keeps its place for an instant; it is a vulgar error to imagine that the Ganges ~~is~~ the Ganges. A familiar illustration in Buddhism is

> ...a flame being passed from a candle. As it is difficult to think of the flame on the last candle as being in any meaningful sense the same as the original flame, the connection would seem instead to be a causal one in which influence was transmitted by chain reaction but not substance.[62]

Gautama denied the existence of a soul-substratum, of a metaphysical soulentity behind the soul, preserving the feeling, thinking, aspiring soul which one knows to be himself. This denial of the existence of a soulsubstratum leads to the doctrine of Karma. In the life of Kagawa, for instance, the sufferings that filled his mind were not accidental but events with definite histories.

Apart from the conditioning impact which the lives of his father and elder brother and the molders of his entire life exerted upon him, his sufferings could not possibly have come into being. This fact, however, did not mean that Kagawa must pass on unchanged the sufferings that had come his way. By altering and adding to them he could definitely affect the ongoing current of human lives. Neither the continuity nor the freedom claimed by Kagawa need be regarded as entities, things, or mental substances that are in any way physically transmitted.

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[61] E. A. Burtt, *The Teachings of the Compassionate Buddha* (New York: The New American Library, 1955) p. 30.

[62] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

This denial of spiritual substance was only an aspect of Gautama's wider denial of substance of every sort. Gautama was so struck with impermanence that he listed it as the first of his Three Signs of Being, or characteristics that apply to everything in the natural order, the other two being suffering and the absence of a permanent soul. Kagawa was most aware of himself as an individual. To him the self as an independent center of freedom and initiative was most important. The obvious corollary is that men must, in the main, make their own ways through life; that what a man gets will be primarily his own doing. This indubitandum of selfhood permanently separates Kagawa from Buddhism.

Nevertheless, Kagawa was painfully aware of his own frailty and his need for someone to rescue him from his sufferings. But again he faced disappointment in Buddhism. Having denied the personal soul, Buddhism inevitably also dispensed with gods. Buddhism teaches that the wheel of nature turns without a maker, without a watcher. There is not even that sort of "Pre-established Harmony" which Leibnitz postulated to explain the apparent reign of law in the world. The universe has no beginning and no end; cause, effect, work out their will-less way from eternity to eternity. Every act, then, brings its natural consequences. As Kellett states:

> There is, in a sense, no reward, no punishment; it is no reward for the acorn to become an oak, no punishment for the leaf to decay and fall. "According to the seed that is sown, so is the fruit; the doer of good will reap good, the doer of evil: the seed is sown, and thou shalt taste its fruit." This is the law of karma: the great rule of the universe.[63]

Having the existence of his soul denied, his sufferings explained as the result of karma, lacking one of whom to depend, and hardly satisfied in his family religion, Kagawa the individualist was deeply impressed by the Christian truth. Words he had memorized since he had first heard Charles A. Logan, through whom Kagawa made the initial contact with Christianity, read them aloud kept repeating themselves in his mind. His thoughts echoed, "Consider the lilies...."[64]

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[63] E.E. Kellett, *A Short History of Religions* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1962), p. 416.

[64] Charles Alexander Logan was born in Shelbyville, Kentucky, November 14, 1874. Father, George William Logan. Mother, Josephine Bell. Married Patty Blain Myers, sister of Harry W. Myers, in Lexington, Virginia, on November 22, 1899. After her death he married Laura Morrison Brown in Stauton, Virginia, on June 3, 1936. He received his B.A. from Centre College in Danville, Kentucky in 1893. Taught in Jackson, Kentucky, 1893-1896. Received his B.D. from Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary in 1899. Ordained 1899. Served as missionary in Japan: Tokushima 1902-1935, Tokyl 1936-1938. Marugame 1939 to 1941. Was an evangelist from 1941-1947 in Kentucky and Virginia. During this time he organized three churches in this area. Received D.D. from Westminister College in Missouri. Author of *Soseki Jidai*, *The Age of Moses*, *Jesus Now is Passing By*, *Our Lord's Self-introductions*

In his *Re-thinking Oriental Philosophy* Kagawa enumerates four basic weaknesses of Buddhism: 1) its denial of the existence of God; 2) its rejection of the human value of individuals, which is caused by the denial of the existence of God, the source of every value; 3) its loss of ethical standards by hinayanistic dialectics; and 4) its exclusion of salvation, particularly in the Hinayana School of Buddhism.[65] Paul said, "I am under obligation both to Greeks and to barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish" (Romans 1:14). Similarly, Kagawa was obligated to Buddhism. Kagawa says:

> I meditated upon the Lotus Sutra, and thought about the possibility of calling upon the name of Jesus in the Buddhist temple. The Enlightened one of the Lotus Sutra is not imaginative Fuken Bosatsu alone. It is Jesus and the redeemed followers of Jesus.[66]

Are not the disciples of Jesus the fulfillers of the Lotus Sutra? Is not the Lotus Sutra like the book of Isaiah? Where does one find the point of dispute between the Buddhist and the Christian? Is not the teaching of Jesus to make everything perfect? Thus Kagawa concludes that it was the great providence of God that the Lotus Sutra was given to the Orient. Kagawa believes that Gautama and his teachings are

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The Spiritual Songs of the Psalms, Meditations on the Holy Spirit, a translation of a book of Kagawa.

[65] Kagawa, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

fulfilled in Jesus Christ, the perfect revealer of the Truth.[67]

Thus far, the present writer has discussed Kagawa's family tragedy which prepared his life-time theme of quest into the problem of evil; his flight into the hand of nature; and his search into the religious teachings of his ancestors, namely Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist systems, without finding true salvation. Kagawa was, however, led to his true Father. Thus early began a conflict and a growing inner tension which ended in his conversion to Christianity.

IV. CONVERSION

In April of 1900 Kagawa left his home in Awa, to live with Rokubei Mori, his uncle, in the city of Tokushima. He entered the Tokushima Middle School and here again because of his sensitive nature he was tormented continually by his fellow students. Bauman describes these students as "rough young animals with no idea beyond playing practical jokes on one another and avoiding work by every possible means."[68] His loneliness and melancholy increased. But it was just at this critical period that missionaries came into his life. Through Masakichi Katayama, an English teacher at Tokushima Middle School and the head-teacher of a private boarding school for the study of the

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[67] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[68] Bauman, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

English language, Kagawa met Charles A. Logan and Harry W. Myers.[69] Kagawa's only motive in meeting with the American missionaries was his desire to obtain practice in speaking English which was stressed at the school.[70] In spite of his determination to remain antagonistic toward Christian teaching, which seemed to him decisively foreign and unnecessary, Kagawa was heartily welcomed into the homes of Logan and Myers. The two missionaries observed his loneliness and "encouraged him to talk about his problems."[71]

Two years after Toyohiko had entered the Middle School, news came that Tanichi, his brother, had died in Korea, where he had gone on a visit. Toyohiko loved his brother in spite of his licentious living, and he was deeply saddened by his death. He was so miserable, and often so ill, that life hardly seemed worth living. He began to think of it as a bitter struggle in which only the strong and the cruel could get anywhere. Kagawa found:

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[69] Harry White Myers was born in Lexington, Virginia, May 20, 1874. Father Henry H. Myers, mother, Mary Ella Nelson. Married Grace K. Field, in Lexington, Missouri, November 29, 1899. Received B.A. and M.A. from Washington and Lee University 1888-1894. D.D. 1912. Received B.D. from Louisville Theological Seminary 1907, and was its President 1939. Went to Japan. Was held prisoner by the Japanese for six months 1941-1942. Returned to America in 1942. Died in Bronxville, New York, August 5, 1945. Author of _Christianity Preeminent_, _Hungering and Thirsting for God_, both of which were written in Japanese.

[70] Baumann, _loc. cit._

[71] _Ibid._, p. 19.

> ...man and man were at enmity with each other, or, if not enemies, at least they lived their lives selfishly, without regarding others, like prisoners shut in separate cells where they were doomed to spend a solitary lifetime.[72]

Reflecting upon his short life, Kagawa remembered nothing but a series of tragedies: the death of his father, immediately followed by his mother's death, the separation from his brothers in Kobe, the cold reception given him by step-mother and step-grandmother, the misunderstanding with the villagers, and the death of his brother. Kagawa decided in his own mind that "life was a misery to drag through as best one could." He writes:

> We can escape from suffering only when we negate our own existence. Suffering is man's fate from which man cannot escape with his free will... even death will not emancipate man from sufferings. Existence fatally clings to sufferings. Even non-existence will not escape God's fate, called suffering.[73]

Also in his essay, entitled Philosophy of Nothingness, Kagawa states,

> I grew tired of pleasure and beauty of mankind. I become weary of suffering also. I get sick of my existence which is like a continuation of iron line...I am now entering into a dreadful skepticism...Is there any value in my life?[74]

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[72] Ibid.

[73] Kagawa, Kurushiikara Shinu To Iuhito, XXIV, 376-377.

[74] Kagawa, Mu No Shiso (Philosophy of Nothingness), XXIV, 368.

During these dark days of Kagawa's life, he was attracted to "A Book and A Person through that Book,"[75] introduced to him by American missionaries. The important fact is that they were presented to Kagawa's mind at a time of need and loneliness. When he met two missionary teachers, Harry Myers and Charles Logan, he learned that there was love and tenderness in the world. Kagawa encountered a Book that sounded strange depths within himself, depths of which he had never been conscious.[76] He read and reread it. He memorized it here and there. When Kagawa attended the Tuesday night Bible Class, Logan was conducting a series of lectures on the Book of Genesis. In the course of the study, Kagawa gained new insight into his profound love of nature by learning of the Creator of Nature. He reasoned that the comfort which he felt from nature in those lonely days was in reality a love for the Creator of Nature. Myers in an affectionate conversation, one evening, tried to convey to Kagawa his own idea of life: Life is "not a nightmare, not a bitter struggle, not an imprisonment. Life is worth while for its own sake. Life is an art in itself. Life is throbbing activity."[77] Myers described nature and mankind as a harmonious unity, not at cross-purposes; for the love of God is breathed through the whole of nature. Man, Myers said, was created by a loving God in His own likeness. He should seek beauty, his life should be beautiful; it should show forth the virtues of self-respect, unselfishness, and love. The study of the Book, interpreted by able missionaries, led Kagawa to an encounter with a Person, the Creator of the Universe. Kagawa found this Person to be One who lived close to Nature but loved men, especially the unhappy ones, still more than He did the lilies and birds. The ethical teaching of the Gospel made little impression on him. It was the character of Jesus which caught hold of his imagination. Myers writes:

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[75] Axling, op. cit., p. 19.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Baumann, op. cit., p. 19.

> One Sunday he arrived at my home in a state of great excitement, and began to sob as he tried to tell me what was the matter. He had just read the story of the cross of Christ, and, like the Apostle Paul, the love of Christ constrained him.[78]

Kagawa was literally captured by the Christ of the Bible. One day he was reading the Gospel of Luke:

> Consider the lilies, how they grow; they neither toil nor spin; yet I tell you, even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But if God so clothes the grass which is alive in the field today and tomorrow is thrown into the oven, how much more will he clothe you, O men of little faith. For all the nations of the world seek these things; and your Father knows that you need them. Instead, seek his kingdom, and these things shall be yours as well, (Luke 12:27-31).

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[78] H. W. Myers, "Toyohiko Kagawa--Japanese Apostle to the Poor," Missionary Review of the World, LIX (July, 1931), p. 502.

Suddenly a strange shudder was set upon Kagawa, and he heard the voice of God:

> Do you seek purity? Do you care for your inclination toward misconduct? If you desire to cleanse your contaminated soul, and enter into a life of purity, look at heaven and earth again with the spirit of the lilies of the field.[79]

Kagawa cried out, "O God, make me like Christ." This was his prayer and dedication to an overmastering life purpose. The dawn broke.[80] Life was recreated for him from the moment of his conversion; he was happy, because his heart found the love he had been denied all his boyhood. Kagawa recalls this experience: -

> When the spirit of God came into my life my eyes were opened. When I memorized those simple verses in Luke 12:27-31, "Consider the lilies of the fields, how they grow," it was an inspiration to me. Through Christ I found the truth; I found the life; I found the way to become holy, to be godly.[81]

Moreover, Kagawa explained his conversion as a great discovery:

> I was a pilgrim journeying upon a long, long road that had no turning. I was weary. I was footsore. I wandered through a dark and dismal world

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[79] Yokoyama, op. cit., p. 20.

[80] Axling, op. cit., p. 19.

[81] Kagawa, Christ and Japan, (New York: Friendship Press, 1934), p. 109.

> where tragedies were thick. Tears were my meat day and night. Until I discovered that God, the creator and ruler of the universe and man's maker, is my Father; that he is the God of Love who wipes away my tears and saves me from sorrow and from the sin hidden in my soul; until I discovered all this, I knew nothing--absolutely nothing--about the joy of life.[82]

Baumann likens Kagawa's conversion to the experience of Saul of Tarsus who saw a blinding light on his way to Damascus. He seized upon the love of God, and it made all things new and glorious to him.[83] Concerning the event, Axling declares that a "miracle was wrought."[84] Previously unwanted and unloved, Kagawa found one who cared for him. In his Uchu Souzo To Jinsei Saisouzo (Creation of the Universe and Life's Regeneration), Kagawa recalls this experience and states that "I lost my parents as a young boy and yearned for parental love. The greatest reason why I came to the religion of Jesus Christ is that I found that God is my father."[85] His conversion changed pessimism into optimism and he was able to write: "Religion is not a scheme of death for men who have to die, but the art of life for living men."[86]

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[82] Kagawa, "Revealing Christ in Japan," Missionary Review of the World LIV (March, 1931), 116.

[83] Baumann, op. cit., p. 20.

[84] Axling, op. cit., p. 19.

[85] Kagawa, Uchu Sozo To Jinsei Saisozo (Creation of Universe and Life's Regeneration) IV, 5.

[86] Baumann, loc. cit.

Kagawa was baptized and joined the church, and from the very first was very active in his church life. Muto, the most able Kagawa scholar, identifies his baptism as the date of his conversion. He says, "Kagawa was baptized and became a Christian in Tokushima of Shikoku Island in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Meiji, led by C. A. Logan and H. W. Myers."[87] If conversion means public profession of Christianity, Muto is right, for Kagawa failed to make his faith known both at home and in school. Knowing what had happened to some who had been baptized as Christians and fearing the reaction of his uncle, brothers, and friends, Kagawa was reticent to take the step. To Myer's question "Ought you not to be baptized?" Kagawa replied "No." "If I did," says Kagawa, "my family would disown me." Davey describes the occasion:

> "What then?" "Well--" He shuffled uncomfortably. "I should be unable to come to school any more." Myers looked at him until the boy finally raised his eyes. "So you are a coward?" It was not a taunt. Toyohiko took it as it was meant, a plain statement of fact. It was the truth, and the only answer lay in action.[88]

Thus, on February 21, 1904, at the age of fifteen, Toyohiko Kagawa was baptized a Christian.[89]

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[87] Tomio Muto, Shito Pouro To Kagawa Toyohiko (Apostle Paul and Toyohiko Kagawa), (Tokyo: The Christ Weekly Publishers, Inc., 1961), p. 1.

[88] Davey, op. cit., p. 18.

[89] A. C. Knudten, "Toyohiko Kagawa on Some Social, Economic and Religious Tendencies in Modern Japan." Unpublished Doctor's

Simon, on the contrary, believes that Kagawa had no sudden conversion which could be likened to that of Apostle Paul. Rather, he feels that Kagawa was led to Christianity gradually and gently.[90] The present writer agrees with Simon if conversion means the entire process of being introduced to Christianity and into the maturity of Christian experience. If conversion means a subjective psychological experience, Simon may be right when he said that Kagawa's conversion was gradual and gentle.

On the contrary, Kagawa's conversion occurred when God spoke to him through the reading of Luke 12:27-31, and "turned" his life to God, if his conversion was God's redeeming work for him. In this sense, his true turning to God followed his repentance and belief; it led not only to an observable new way of life, but to a spiritual transformation as well (II Corinthians 3:18). Kagawa's conversion was thus more than a change of mind, more than undergoing some experience; it was a concrete change to a new way of life, as the word "turn" suggests--a turning in one's tracks and going in a new direction. William R. Cannon states properly that:

> ...(in the conversion act) man's life is changed, his character is rectified, and he is made into a new creature and is set on the way toward entire sanctification. After conversion he is so

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dissertation, The University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1946.

[90] Simon, op. cit., p. 40.

> far perfect as not to commit acts of sin, and love is the dominating motive of his life.[91]

This is exactly the experience of Kagawa when he met with God through the Book, and "turned" from his previous life. It was not gradual, but a sudden experience. It was not at his baptism, but it was when Kagawa was reading the Book that he met Christ. Later he states: "Religion is not born by magic when we are baptized but is engendered when we become conscious of it."[92] After he was led to Christ, Kagawa's immediate reaction was his desire to "incarnate" Christ's shokuzaiai in a concrete form. His new motive of life, love, compelled him to go to the slum of Shinkawa. He was gripped by a deep love of Jesus Christ. Finding in Christ the solace of his own sorrows, he went on to find in it the way of regeneration for his people, the foundation for the new society and the new age.

V. SHINKAWA SLUMS

Across the Ikuta River which ran through Kobe, lay an area which repelled respectable citizens. It was the notorious Shinkawa slum,

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[91] Wm. R. Cannon, The Theology of John Wesley, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1946), p. 249.

[92] Toyohiko Kagawa, Meditations (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1937), p. 67.

> Here ten thousand people were sardined into houses six-feet square...These people were scavengers, freight-handlers, day laborers, factory workers, jinrikisha pullers, basket-makers, tub-menders, charcoal-ball makers, waste-paper collectors, venders of cheap sweets, cargo-carriers, fortune-tellers, gamblers, beggars, thieves, murderers, pimps, and prostitues.[93]

Life was less than cheap in this slum; it was valueless, says Axling.

When a new Kobe Theological Seminary was opened, Kagawa enrolled himself as a student. He also became the assistant to a pastor, Makita Kazuchi, at Okazaki Church of Aichi prefecture who allowed him to help in preaching and in "open air work." It was to Shinkawa that Kagawa went with the pastor's encouragement to preach the Gospel of Love. Kagawa had worked but little over a year in Shinkawa when he realized that his efforts were useless. Hardly anyone listened. Nobody cared when he collapsed and did not come back. When he made up his mind to leave the seminary, after his year of convalescence in the fishing village, it was to dedicate himself to the service of the desperately indigent in the Shinkawa slums of Kobe. He came not as an outsider from the seminary, but as one who identified himself with the slum dwellers.

> Though for a space of sixteen years in the slums of Kobe I never gave up preaching by the wayside twice a week, yet I should say that I can reckon but few men who changed their way of life as a

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[93] Axling, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 30.

> result of this method. Most of those whom I was able to lead to Christ were led by personal contact and friendship.[94]

On Christmas Eve, 1909, unheralded, Kagawa went alone into the degredation of Shinkawa, to serve his Lord in the slums.[95] Recalling this experience, Kagawa states:

> Often I left the slums of Shinkawa for a season because bullies made life a torture for me. Yet I did not abandon those rogues of the slums...I cannot say that a man minus a nose because of the inroads of self-inflicted disease, or the stooped and broken courtesan, is more beautiful than a flower, but I cannot abandon hope regarding either of them. I cling to men.[96]

Thus Kagawa found himself in the slums with the desire to give his life for the underprivileged. This dedication, which had been taking root in his soul for many months, burst into a full-blown life purpose. He visited the sick. He comforted the sorrowing. He fed the hungry. He lodged the homeless. He became brother to the prostitutes, visiting them when they were ill and providing them with medicines. The significance of Kagawa's life in the slum has been variously evaluated, but a study of his contacts, his meditation and his activities there reveal the gradual formulation of his philosophy of life. Knudten states:

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[94] Cited in Baumann, op. cit., p. 42.

[95] Haruichi Yokoyama, Rinjin Ai No Toushi Kagawa Toyohiko Sensei (Pictorial Life of Dr. Kagawa), (Tokyo: Shinkyo Shuppansha Publishing Company, 1952), p. 18.

[96] Cited in Axling, op. cit. pp. 40, 41.

> The urge to give expression to the new-found hope of God-as-Love in his cataclysmic conversion experience, at first impulsive and ill-defined, gave way to a philosophy of life and a plan of action.[97]

If Kagawa's conversion was his first crisis, then his decision to enter the slums was the second. Probably his primary motivation was his sensitivity to human suffering, well-sharpened by his own painful life. On the other hand, many biographers attach significance to his Tokushima school days. In Tokushima there were eighty-eight sacred shrines, visited every year by fifty-thousand people. During the midwinter holiday the city was full of pilgrims, many of them ill and starved. As Kagawa observed them their misery smote him so sharply that he was filled with sadness and distress. It was also about this time that Myers introduced him to Juji Ishii, a medical student in Okayama who had given up his medical training when he found it impossible to go on living as he had been doing because of the distressing situation of orphans perishing of hunger and cold.[98]

Myers also took Kagawa into the very heart of the slum in Tokushima, and there they met Mr. Mori, an ex-soldier of the Russo-Japanese War. Converted through the ministry of Myers, Mori had entered the slums to help the pilgrims. "This experience," declares Baumann, "was tremendous, even lifelong."[99] It was also in Myers' library that he discovered Henry Drummond's The Greatest Thing in the World, and John Ruskins's Stones of Venice. The former profoundly stirred Kagawa's lonely soul toward life as an expression of sacrificial love. The latter challenged him to view the human problem in terms of social relationships. When he was introduced to Canon Samuel Burnett (1844-1914) and his work in the London slums, Kagawa thought that his own life must be patterned after this great man.[100] Then, at the Meiji Gakuin College, he discovered the Christian socialism of Frederick Maurice and Charles Kingsley who gave the foundation to Kagawa's mind sociologically, philosophically and theologically.

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[97] Knudten, op. cit., p. 18.

[98] Yokoyama, op. cit., p. 100.

The inspiration and admonitions derived from these giants of Christendom brought Kagawa to the decision that the slum of Shinkawa was his true place of service. Therefore, it is believed that the emotional support for his decision was derived from his Tokushima days; intellectually, he was persuaded by his Meiji Gakuin days; and his personal struggle to live contributed the necessary volitional impetus. In addition to these external influences, Kagawa had within himself a distaste for the formalism and dogmatism of seminaries and churches. Thus he resolved to enter the slums.

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[99] Baumann, op. cit., p. 37.

[100] Kiyoshi Nishiuchi, "Genkou Hekikan," Life of Kagawa, by One Hundred And Three (Tokyo: Christ Weekly Publishers, 1960), p. 108.

Kagawa had distinct plans when he began his ministry in the slums. First, he desired to awaken the people to their own need; he intended to serve them directly wherever and whenever they were in need; he declared he would give first aid to the sick, teach the children to read and write, beg for them, borrow for them, and attempt to find them work. And then he hope to arouse the consciences of all the citizens of Kobe to this scandal within their midst.[101]

Kagawa found that the poor are broken in personality, degenerate in mentality and sick in body. He realized that they needed salvation; in fact, they needed as much welfare as Christians can give in the spirit of Christ. Nevertheless Kagawa was fully aware that reform of the slums could not be accomplished solely through welfare. The proletariat, the unemployed, in contrast to the poor, are not broken in their personalities and mentally degenerate.[102] But they are without security in their lives; they remain slaves of their employers, lacking distinction and isolated from society. These proletariat can be saved from their poverty by giving them a place in the social order. These are the conclusions which Kagawa reaches in Studies in the Psychology of the Poor.

Kagawa charged that the Christian church tends to teach love and faith abstractly, completely apart from the problem of physical needs and the problem of economics. He felt, on the contrary, that love must be concretely expressed, or it is not love. The body and spirit are dynamically united in one reality. Without concrete expression or embodiment, nothing has significance, and God cannot be understood by men unless He is revealed in the concreteness of a body. This was indeed the incarnation of Logos.[103] Kagawa believed that every Christian should incarnate himself in modern life by becoming involved in the problems of others. Russian revolutionists violently began the proletarian movement, but Kagawa was sure that a revolution of violence could hardly reform society. Violence surely begets more violence and thus creates a worse society. The reform of society must begin with the individual soul as well as a cooperative movement.[104] Kagawa's operation then is anti-Marxist; it is non-violent. It follows rather the pattern of Tolstoy, Gandhi and Saint Francis of Assisi. Kagawa advocates a non-violent but actual involvement in the estranged situation of mankind.

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[101] Baumann, op. cit., pp. 41, 42.

[102] Yokoyama, op. cit., p. 33.

Kagawa's concern for the slum expresses itself in his labor movement, his study of the land problems, and his cooperative movement as well as in his Kingdom of God Movement. The labor movement was Kagawa's effort to correct the immediate situation of the poor; his study of the land problem was an attempt to halt the streams of indigent persons which were pouring into the slums; and his cooperative movement was initiated so that the situation might be improved by the elimination of the capitalist middleman. The Kingdom of God Movement was the earnest expression of his concern for individual spiritual problems.

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[103] Kenichi Yarita, Kagawa Toyohiko, Vol. II (Toyohashi: Daiichi Shoten Publishing Company, 1948), p. 12.

[104] Ibid., p. 28.

It is important to know what theological implications came from Kagawa's slum experiences. Methodologically, he was able to learn the ancient Japanese way of life Kyokakudo which was strictly practiced among the dwellers of the slum. Kagawa's first acquaintance in the slum was Kotaro Inagi, a kyokaku, or a street knight who helps the weak and crushes the strong.[105] Saunders describes Kagawa as a samurai and a rebel.[106] Saunders believes that in Kagawa's complete self-sacrifice, in his devotion to his cause, in his self-imposed poverty and simplicity, and in his serenity is the best of the Bushido spirit, the way of the warrior. Saunders may be right if Bushido is understood as it was expressed in the Tokugawa era and as it has become the national ethic in modern times, or at least part of it. The samurai class was quite consciously seen as the embodiment and protector of morality.[107]

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[105] Kyokaku has a touch of chivalry in his composition. He is a self-styled humanitarian, or a street knight.

[106] Kenneth Saunders, Whither Asia? (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933), p. 109.

[107] Ernest W. Clement, "Instructions of a Mito Prince to His Retainers," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan XXVI (1898), p. 135.

There are, however, strong evidences that a truer picture could be gained by thinking of the Bushido of the feudal era as the code of a minority caste, although it was the ruling caste. Knudten wisely indicates that there are evidences of a social force of chivalry, Kyokakudo, which ran parallel to the code of the Warrior, or Bushido. Kyokakudo expressed itself among the classes of no, or farmers, ko, or the laborers, and sho, or the merchants, while the shi or samurai class strengthened the defenses of their own more conspicuous order as is expressed in Bushido. The Kyokaku fought against the samurai oppression of his men as seen in Chobei Banzuiin.[108] Kyokakudo was then the other expression of the stream of indigenous and intuitive morality arising from a sense of duty and fellow feeling. Hope for the masses and improvement of the social order in Japan rested in the sense of chivalry toward the needy. It was a sense of social, rather than military, justice. Kagawa praises the Kyokakudo when he says:

> During the three hundred years of the Tokugawa reign the forces which resisted the Shogunate and its samurai followers were those among the common people who had adopted the code of chivalry. This group intuitively developed the proletarian morality of protecting the weak and suppressing the strong. It was not necessarily the result of the influence of Shinto, Buddhism or Confucianism. This spirit floweredforth from Kyokakudo, an inborn traits of Japanese people.[109]

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[108] Toshio Fukawa, "Sanbisha No Hitori To Shite," Kagawa By 103 (Tokyo: The Christ Weekly Pub., Inc., 1961), 452.

[109] Kagawa, Christ and Japan, p. 24.

Nitobe echoes Kagawa in his Bushido, the Spirit of Samurai:

> At once the spokesmen and the guardians of popular rights, they (Kyokaku) had each a following of hundreds and thousands of souls who proffered in the same fashion that Samurai did to daimio, the willing service of "limb and life, of body, chattels and earthly honor." Backed by "bosses" they formed a formidable check to the rampancy of the two-sworded order.[110]

This is known to Nitobe as Otokodate, the way of manhood, and to Kagawa as Kyokakudo, the way of chivalry, in the defense of the socially depressed and mistreated. Knudten is right when he concludes:

> Bushido is one expression of a deep current of socio-ethical power, as is Kyokakudo. Feudalism developed an intense loyalty. The (Meiji) Restoration was to see that loyalty transferred to a new Lord, under the old pattern. But the forces of social reconstruction under men like Kagawa would be in the larger stream of loyalty with a social conscience as revealed in Kyokakudo.[111]

This writer tends to prefer Knudten's interpretation of Kagawa as a knight of Kyokakudo rather than Saunders' depiction of him as a warrior of Bushido. Historically speaking, Kagawa was born in the traditional class of no or farmers, although his household held the title of honored squire of nineteen villages, for generations, and his father Junichi found his activity in sho or merchant class, managing his shipping business. Furthermore, his long residence in the slum of Shinkawa formulated his way of life under the Kyokakudo influence. Moreover, his life was dedicated to the improvement of the social order; he set himself to the task of becoming a friend of the masses. And finally, his personality was not of the samurai, but was Kyokaku which was revealed in his compassion for the poor, the underprivileged, the sick, and the unemployed.[112]

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[110] Inazo Nitobe, Bushido, The Soul of Japan (Tokyo: Teihi Publishing Company, 1914), pp. 149, 150.

[111] Knudten, op. cit., p. 67.

Nevertheless, Saunders may not be altogether dismissed, for Nitobe, the authority on Bushido, observes that the spirit of Otokodate or Kyokakudo had its origin in Bushido. It is noted that "the spirit of Bushido.permeated all the social order known as Otokodate, the natural leaders of democracy."[113] If Nitobe is right in saying that Kyokakudo is derived from Bushido, Saunders is not utterly wrong. However, there is no doubt about Knudten's accuracy in describing Kagawa as a knight of Kyokakudo.

VI. EVANGELISM

In 1921 Kagawa met with fourteen of his former schoolmates and founded the "Society of the Friends of Jesus." Kagawa himself describes the society:

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[112] Genjiro Yoshida, "Tanka O Kiru Kagawa," Kagawa By 103, p. 250.

[113] Nitobe, op. cit., p. 149.

> This is a type of Francisco-Jesuit-Protestant Order that combines St. Francis' loving service to the poor and the Jesuits' loyalty to the church in a way that would enable us to develop and fulfill a practical program of true Christain living designed to fit the needs of modern life in Japan.[114]

Kagawa founded the Friends of Jesus with the five principles: Piety (Devotion to God in Christ), Work (of Mind and Hand), Purity (including War on Vice and Liquor), Peace (including War on War), and Service (Social, Religious, Political).[115] By 1926 the Society boasted thirteen hundred members.[116] At their summer conference that year Kagawa first outlined his basic idea of winning a million souls for Christ. His plan included a three-part movement: 1) an intensive evangelization to win a million souls for Christ; 2) an educational effort to train five thousand lay workers to aid the clergy; and 3) an organizational effort of Christian cooperatives as the development of social Christianity.

In June, 1928, the National Christian Council received the report of the Jerusalem delegates, and voted to launch a nation-wide evangelistic campaign. This campaign was to include all denominations but was limited primarily to the churches.[117] In 1929 John R. Mott visited Japan for a series of conferences held under the auspices of the National Christian Council. The Kamakura Conference and the Nara Conference of April 11-13, 1929, drew up recommendations to the National Christian Council suggesting that the "evangelistic campaign be continued, based on Mr. Kagawa's plan."[118] This recommendation was considered and accepted by the Council.

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[114] Emerson O. Bradshaw, Unconquerable Kagawa, (St. Paul: Macalester Park Publishing Company, 1952), p. 123.

[115] Ibid.

[116] One who joins the Society in the first year would be a Friend, second year a Brother, and third year he would reach the highest class of Servant.

On June 7, 1929, the Commission on Evangelism of the National Christian Council met together with Kagawa's cooperators and officially launched the "Million Souls Movement" according to Kagawa's plan. Later, at Kagawa's suggestion, the name was changed to "The Kingdom of God Movement" to avoid undue stress upon numbers of converts and also to alleviate any opposition advanced by non-Christian groups. It secured actual representation from the denominations, interpreted itself to them and received their cooperation. Every student of the Kingdom of God Movement agreed on one particular: Kagawa was the heart and soul of the Movement. It was he who conceived the vision and began, single-handed, to carry it out.

The scope of the Kingdom of God Movement conceived by Kagawa was expressed when he said:

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[117] Wm. Axling, "The Kingdom of God Campaign," *Japan Mission Year Book*, XXVIII (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1930), pp. 139-40.

[118] Akira Ebisawa, "The Special Evangelistic Campaign," *The Japan Christian Quarterly*, IV (July, 1929), p. 277.

> What is the Kingdom of God Movement? Is it the three years of cooperative evangelism now being conducted?....A Christian society, and nothing less, is the goal of the Kingdom of God Movement. Our aim is the thorough-going Christianizing of our community.[119]

The methods of the Movement were threehold: Evangelism, Education and Christianizing economics. Evangelism, however, was to be foremost in Kagawa's campaign throughout the movement. He envisioned success for the campaign only if all Christian denominations agreed to join and to cooperate. He says:

> If it (the movement) serves to unify the denominational differences sufficiently to create a habit of cooperation in a nationwide Christian programme, my hopes for it will have been satisfied.[120]

Kagawa saw that "the Kingdom of God Movement...is primarily a programme of Organization."[121] Its first year of 1930 saw the organization of preaching in new methods of evangelism of which "the A.B.C. was interdenominational cooperation."[122] Kagawa was motivated by his love and devotion to Christ, by his desire to convert people to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, as fittingly stressed in his first year of the Movement. Kagawa coveted the people of Japan for Christ. The central theme of his preaching was "the Cross of Christ as the revelation of the love of God." Wherever he preached his compassion brought life to his words, and men heard the voice of God.[123]

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[119] Toyohiko Kagawa, "The Forward Movement in Japan," Missionary Review of the World, LIV (November, 1931), p. 837.

[120] Toyohiko Kagawa, "The Kingdom of God Movement: Its Future Programme and Philosophy," Japan Christian Quarterly, VI (July, 1931), p. 210.

[121] Ibid., p. 215.

[122] Ibid.

According to Kagawa's plan, education was to be the main emphasis during 1931, in order that the organization and training of lay workers could meet the needs of the campaign. The educational organization was launched with a conference held April 8 and 9, 1931, in Tokyo, where plans were projected for the Peasants' Gospel Schools. Kagawa describes them as "short term, non-equipment schools. They last a month on a full time residential basis. They utilize farm vacations. My ideal is to have one in each county."[124] It was Kagawa's desire to foster three things: Love of the Soil, Love of Neighbors, and Love of God. He describes a day at the Peasants' Gospel School:

> Ordinarily the boys have their own prayers early in the morning between five and six. At seven we have breakfast. We eat with the boys at all meals. Then we have classes in Biblical Agriculture and on the Sermon on the Mount until noon,

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[123] Shiro Kuroda, "Idaina Dendosha Kagawa Toyohiko Sensei," Kagawa (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1960), pp. 31, 32.

[124] Toyohiko Kagawa, "Evangelism Education and Social Organization," Friends of Jesus III (April, 1930) 19-21.

> and in the afternoon we work on experimental farm methods.[125]

In this project Kagawa endeavored to guide students to "become earnest Christian lay leaders and reformers in Japan's villages."[126] This was Kagawa's second major project of the Movement, "education to train five thousand lay workers to aid the clergy."[127] To his embarassment, the clergy of Japan resented the idea of laymen entering their field. Many of them actually seemed to want to suppress the lay movement. Kagawa explained his effort in saying: "We had to have trained laymen who could follow up after the ministers and missionaries and could continue the process of educating the people for Christ."[128]

For much of the success of his program the present writer sees that Kagawa relied upon Christian education, by which he hoped to change the practical life of the Japanese. He recalled his Shinkawa ministry which did not produce "good results," and how he turned to take the young people instead, and "educate them from the very beginning against evil and for Christ."[129] Kagawa states:

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[125] Bradshaw, op. cit., p. 129.

[126] Ibid., p. 130.

[127] Ibid., 124.

[128] Ibid., p. 128.

[129] Loc. cit.

> The only method, therefore, that will serve the church permanently in its attempt to win either laborers, or children, is the educational method. There is no other way to bring the under-priviledged classes to Christ.[130]

Thirdly, Christianizing economics was Kagawa's effort to apply his religion to every problem of life. Through religion he would Christianize the economic life of Japan by organizing Christian cooperatives. Thus Christianity would be seen, and Christian principles would be put into action; this was Kagawa's answer to social exploitation.[131] This is what Kagawa meant by incarnating Christ into human society, or the secularization of religion. In the words of H. Richard Niebuhr, "the counterpart of this secularization, however, is the sanctification of all things."[132] Kagawa states:

> ...the process of incarnating Christ into life means addressing ourselves to the whole of man and his every need. Bread for a man's body is quite as large a need--and seems to him to be quite as imperative--as bread for his soul.[133]

Kagawa considered cooperation the ultimate expression of the love of

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[130] Ibid., pp. 128, 129.

[131] Harold E. Fey, "Looking at Life with Kagawa," The Christian Century XLVII (March 12, 1930), p. 331.

[132] H. Richard Niebuhr, Radical Monotheism and Western Culture, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1960), p. 52.

[133] Bradshaw, op. cit., p. 130.

Christ in economics, and thought that this principle may be applied to the most complex as well as to the simplest economic problems. Kagawa was a Christian Socialist, influenced by such men as Kingsley, Maurice, Toynbee and Barnett. Throughout his life he fought against the evils of capitalism and viewed the cooperative movement as the best expression of Christ's spirit. Yasuo Furuya admonishes his readers, "we should not, however, be deaf to his essential message, being misled by such words as 'capitalism' and 'socialism,' however various and vague the meanings of these words have become today."[134] The problem that Kagawa challenged was not basically the matter of this or that social structure but the matter of the life and death of the Christian Church; it was that "Christ died for us." According to Kagawa the Sacrificial Love of God must be realized by men concretely and be incarnated as a brotherly concern for the needy and the poor.

Officially, the Kingdom of God Movement lasted three years. It cannot be reckoned so however, for it revealed the essential methodology and philosophy of Kagawa's entire life, which was actually formulated in the slums of Shinkawa, flowered in the Kingdom of God Movement, and was continued in his post war Japan For Christ Movement.

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[134] Furuya, op. cit., p. 203.

VII. LAST DAYS

Toyohiko Kagawa, a man who had served the Lord for fifty years in evangelistic work both in Japan and abroad, in spite of ill health, ended his earthly life on April 23, 1960. His last prayer: "Give, dear Lord, peace in the world; strengthen the church in Japan, that she may be able to spread the Gospel, Amen," included a request for the blessing upon the churches, the salvation of the Japanese and peace of the world. Kagawa's last prayer adequately summarizes his work and concern throughout the last years of his life. As the world prepared for the second world war, the peace of the world became Kagawa's primary concern.[135]

He turned his attention to the problem of world peace with the same honesty and compassion that he showed to the slums, the labor problem, the land problem and cooperative reform, because for him it was a genuine Christian expression of love in the most urgently needed area of human problems. His written essays on the subject are many, and he is very forceful in his argument as the defender of peace.[136] Kagawa expressed his Christian pacifism in his preface to the Chinese edition of Love the Law of Life when he says:

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[135] Davey, op. cit., p. 107.

[136] Cf. Kagawa, Human Suffering and Human Architecture, IX, 56-59; Philosophy of the Struggle for Existence, IX, 368-381; Love the Law of Life, VII, 139-143; Until the Armaments are Withdrawn, X, 271-281; Can We Prevent War? X, 239-292; The Principles and Progress of Cooperatives, XI, 378-382; also various essays in World State, 1947-1957, X, 293-451.

> ...though a million times I should ask pardon it would not be enough to cover the sins of Japan. I am ashamed, because I am too impotent to influence the militarism of Japan. Chinese leaders may well accuse me of impotence. I deserve the charge.[137]

Against a background of rising war hysteria Kagawa the pacifist worked on. In August of 1940, Kagawa was arrested by the military secret police for preaching on the subject of non-violence. His imprisonment in Sugamo Prison was terminated by the Foreign Minister, Matsuoka, after eighteen days.[138] By then the militarists made no secret of their designs that the conquest of China was a preliminary skirmish to an act of conquest which would make Japan the master of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

December 8, 1941--Japan declared war upon the United States of America. Years of passionate effort to stop the war between the two countries had failed. A disappointed Kagawa sought refuge at his rural settlement at Teshima on the Island Sea in order to try and come to terms with the new situation. Here he went into semi-retirement from public life, but helped the sick in the hospital while working on the farm.[139]

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[137] Cited by Helen F. Topping, "Kagawa and the War," Christian Century LV (May 4, 1938), p. 559.

[138] Tadayuki Nogi, "Kagawa and Military Police," Kagawa By 103, 267-272.

[139] Kagawa, Everlasting Re-creation, IV, 397.

On the Sunday morning of August 19, 1945, immediately after the end of the Second World War, Kagawa stood in the pulpit of Matsuzawa church and preached on the sin of war and emphasized the necessity of constructing a World State. Thus his active role in the World State began with a new organization of the International Peace Association, and translation of the "Draft of a World Constitution," set up by Robert Hutchins.[140] He became the vice-president of the World Movement for World Federation by request of its chairman, Lord Boyd Orr, in March, 1954. In 1956, November 26th, a conference for the renunciation of war was held in Tokyo. Kagawa emphasized the importance of this conference by saying:

> The Japanese people declared a permanent renunciation of war, in article nine of the new constitution. This was a great event in world history. We must not only observe this article at all costs, but also persuade the world's peoples to follow this principle.[141]

He wrote an article in The Yomiuri Houchi, on August 30th, 1945, entitled "To General MacArthur"[142] and an article entitled "Appeal to President Rhee,"[143] in December, 1956, urging the earliest re-opening of diplomatic relationships between Japan and Korea. In December, 1959, from a bed of illness, Kagawa sent an appeal to the authorities of Indonesia that they should stop war and have peace talks in order to avoid further disaster.[144] Kagawa believed firmly that the concrete means to world peace is the establishment of an International Cooperative Association. Its principle, "one for all and all for one," is based upon the idea of social solidarity.

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[140] Kagawa, Purpose of Universe, XIII, 286-90.

[141] Haruichi, Yokoyama, Kagawa Toyohiko and His Works (Tokyo: Friends of Jesus, 1961), p. 11.

[142] Kagawa, To General MacArthur, XXIV, 413-415.

[143] Kagawa, Appeal to President Rhee, XXIV, 440-441.

> But this sense of social solidarity should further be motivated by the redemptive love of Christ, the love that can redeem the sins of man and of the world. The world is sick in talking too much about justice without giving thought to redemptive mercy. Both can be fulfilled in the redemptive love of Christ, which, I believe, is the real key to the fundamental solution of the world's problem.[145]

Therefore, the peace of the world to which Kagawa devoted so much in his later years finds its foundation in Christ. In fact, Kagawa regarded his main work, particularly after the war, as "evangelism."

A broad range of his activities often seems to obscure the central characteristics of Kagawa. Yokoyama finds that "Being a Christian Evangelist is the beginning and the end of his life. All his prayers, struggles, and hope depend upon this faith."[146] His major evangelistic campaigns include the Evangelical movement for One Million Converts;[147] The Kingdom of God Movement;[148] Cooperative Evangelism;[149] and the Christian Movement for the Reconstruction of New Japan;[150] as well as many missionary trips to foreign lands.[151] Shiro Kuroda states that "Kagawa's life was dedicated as a life of evangelism."[152] His every effort, including his labor movement, was ultimately an evangelistic attempt to bring people to Christ. Indeed, his evangelistic effort made him the man he was. Its method, system, and message changed with variations in time and environment--from street meetings at Shinkawa, One Million Soul Movement, Kingdom of God Movement, Japan for Christ Movement--but his loyalty to Christ and passionate love for mankind was steadily deepened. He truly lived in the presence of Christ. In the soul of Kagawa, the evangelist, a flame of passion burned for lost sinners. He, like Paul, was caught by Christ, a slave of Christ. "It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me," (Galatians 2:20) was the experience of Toyohiko Kagawa. He lived the life of evangelism, fighting daily, suffering every pain, spreading the Gospel of Christ with every act and word.

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[144] Kagawa, To Indonesian People, XXIV, 450.

[145] Helen Topping, "Kagawa's Post-War Message" Kagawa (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1960), p. 171.

[146] Yokoyama, op. cit., p. 15.

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[147] Kagawa, Shinpen Zakki, XXIV, 35-108 for minute record of this campaign.

[148] Ibid., pp. 108-158.

[149] Ibid., pp. 159-315.

[150] Kuroda, op. cit., pp. 32-35.

[151] Kagawa, op. cit., pp. 316-360.

[152] Kuroda, op. cit., p. 24.

In spite of his cold, he went to Shikoku area for evangelical work on the first of January, 1959. He remarked "It is a glory for an evangelist to die on the way of his evangelism." He did not listen when his co-workers urged him not to go but fell with a fatal illness from which he did not recover. He died courageously with the strong sense of a mission accomplished.

Kagawa, the Evangelist, was also a staunch Churchman. Davey observes that:

> ...his (Kagawa's) true significance lies in the fact that he would not allow any divorce between worship and service, and used every means at his disposal, including that of an untiring personal example, to show that evangelism must be matched by compassion, that the church and its members must work out their faith in their daily life, and that devotion to Christ serves those in need.[153]

However, Kagawa's unorthodox method of evangelism often caused skepticism within the church that Kagawa was not a part of historical and apostolic Christianity. It is true that Kagawa "had little patience with 'denominationalism,' especially when it implied the offering to non-Christian lands by diverse missionary societies of a 'broken' instead of a 'united' Body of Christ."[154] However, he loved the church of Christ. When the Nippon Kirisuto Kyodan, or the United Church of Christ in Japan, was formed, Kagawa became a member of it. He remained loyal to the Kyodan, even when other churches contracted out of it after the years of war. He was a faithful member of the Kyodan and a pastor of Matsuzawa Church which belonged to the Kyodan, until his day of departure from his earthly home.

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[153] Davey, _op_. _cit_., p. 147.

Within the Christian community he was held in high respect as a leader of the Kyodan. Kagawa "insisted that he has been saved from sin as the son of a concubine and from his own sin by Christ and that his faith for redemption is in the Cross."[155] There can be no question as to his loyalty to Christ and to His Church. Kagawa worried often about the contraction of the Kyodan, and stated that his motive for publishing the Christ Weekly and initiating the "Japan for Christ Movement" was rooted in his loyalty to the Kyodan.[156] Indeed, he repeated his open criticism of the church, but unlike Kanzo Uchimura's Non-Church Movement, Kagawa remained in the established church.[157]

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[154] Ibid., p. 138.

[155] Harold E. Fey, "Kagawa Revisits America," The Christian Century, LVIII (May 21, 1941), 686.

[156] Yokoyama, op. cit., p. 472.

[157] Michalson, op. cit., p. 18.

Kagawa then exercised his ability within and for the church, standing in the front line, spreading the Gospel of Christ passionately, incarnating Christ's love in various concrete phases of human problems.

CHAPTER III

SOURCE OF REDEMPTION

I. KAGAWA'S CONCEPT OF GOD

The inseparability of value and being constitutes the underlying presupposition and, ultimately, the driving force of the entire thought of Kagawa. Insofar as this is true, the driving force of this tradition is idealistic in the more fundamental and metaphysical sense, because an essential part of this theology, as Kagawa rightly sees, is its conception of the relation of values to antecedent reality. What Kagawa means is that ultimately being and value are inseparable--that the validity of man's values rests upon the fact that they are grounded in being, while the significance of being rests upon the fact that being includes value as part of its nature.

Whatever is, insofar as it is or has being, is at the same time, and for this very reason, also true, good and beautiful. These transcendentals,--truth, goodness and beauty--are not predicates in the ordinary sense that being might have them or not have them; rather, they are inseparable from being as such. This seems to be the axiom of intelligibility--the inseparability of being and value--which underlies Kagawa's theology in all its forms and expressions.

By this very view, it has already placed itself beyond realism and idealism in the narrow modern sense, for it includes in it the motives of both. It is true that, in Kagawa's opinion, substance is first in the order of being. From this more ultimate point of view, being and value are equally primal. These modes do not add anything to being. They are aspects of being as such. All reality, therefore, has meaning and is intelligible. It is this basic assumption which is the very essence of Kagawa's system, as this writer has come to understand it.

Kagawa finds being and value in their perfect unity in the phenomena of life. Thus, ontological being and axiological value coincide. In life, the act of value judgment itself is its very existence. Consequently, Kagawa records his conversation with unnamed seekers after the truth in My Theory of Life:

> A.: "...I do not understand God at all. I feel foolish even to hear people pronouncing the name of 'God.'" B.: "I do not understand God, either." Kagawa: "You, gentlemen, do not understand God because you search for Him outwardly, while you need to turn your eyes inward." A.: "What do you mean by to seek God 'inwardly?'" Kagawa: "I mean by that you are to observe life itself which works in you." A.: "Do you mean, then, that Life is God?" Kagawa: "Yes, Life itself is God."[1]

Being Life itself, God is a distinctly personal reality. "The reality of realities is," Kagawa states, "the personal and purest form of the personal as the ultimate reality."[2] Since there is no other way to know God, the ultimate reality, than through the intuitive response of the "I," God ought to be "a personal being." For Kagawa, God is the purest of personal existence. He finds the foundation for his theory that God, the absolute person, is the ultimate perfection of personal life in Genesis 1:26, in which God said: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." This does not mean that man is as completely perfect as God. Nevertheless, man is imago dei. For anyone to say that God is completely different from man is as absurd as it is to say that He is completely like man. Kagawa understands this in the light of the incarnation of Jesus Christ, who said, "He who has seen me has seen the Father," (John 14:9). In Jesus Christ is the way to approach God.

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[1] Toyohiko Kagawa, My Theory of Life (Tokyo: Goto Shoin, 1955), p. 18.

[2] Ibid., p. 158.

It must be noted that Kagawa intends to begin his theological method as the empirical fact of life with its mystical qualities, and he purposely intends to avoid any rationalistic interpretation of theology. According to Kagawa, a distinction can be made between an understanding of God and the possession of a full-consciousness of Him. The former belongs to the method of kyo, or teaching, and the latter to the method of do, or way. The religion of Jesus did not derive from the academic effort of kyo, but from a do of a conscious awareness of the true religion. Jesus clearly stated, "I and the Father are one."[3] He experienced the essential truth of religion when He came to a full-consciousness of His oneness with God.[4] Nevertheless, man in his normal state cannot have a conscious relationship with God due to his distortion of his original image. Man is not truly what he ought to be until he receives a clear awareness that the universe has a distinct relation to its Creator. The Gospel of Christ, according to Kagawa, finds its uniqueness in the fact that Christ possessed this full-consciousness of religious truth, (John 10:29 KJV).

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[3] Kagawa, Kirisutoni Tsuite No Meiso (Meditations About Christ), III, 241.

God who is

> ...the Creator of this universe is greater than the universe itself. He has a genuine relation with me and his gift to me shall not be dispossessed by anyone...As I cannot be other than myself, so I cannot lose my faith in God as He creates in me a full consciousness that God abides within me. There is neither strong nor weak faith, but religion means to abide in God.[5]

God for Kagawa is indubitandum as his own self. This is an intuitive awareness that God has conceived man before he is able to have consciousness that "I and the Father are one," (John 10:30). This consciousness is utterly beyond the reasoning faculty of man, yet it is immediately given in any awareness of his existence. This writer believes Kagawa's discussion is similar to the view of Descartes who came to believe that man as res cogitan, and not as res extensa, is indubitandum, but includes man's immediate awareness of something beyond himself within him, namely, God. This is something that man must accept as immediately given in his full awareness of existence, and is not the result of a rational and indirect search for the truth.

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[4] Hereinafter the term "Zen-ishiki" is translated as "full-consciousness" following the precedent translations of Kagawa's works.

[5] Ibid., p. 242.

It must be remembered that Kagawa produced many of his writings in the midst of a non-Christian society in an attempt to turn these people to the Gospel of Christ from Buddhist nirvana, Shinto's kami and Confucian tao. To the Buddhist, the idea of God is atheistic, pantheistic or even theistic, according to the sect concerned. To the Shintoist and followers of the Shinko Shukyo, or new religions, the idea is frankly polytheistic.[6] To the Marxian, God does not exist at all. In an atmosphere of these various systems, there is a real danger that the God revealed in Jesus Christ may be regarded as but another alternative, but hardly intellectually respectable for thinking men. According to Kagawa, however, the Christian God is essentially distinguished from the claims of other religions, and rightly so, for four basic reasons. First, He is essentially one; second, He has personal attributes; third, He is a God of immanence, actively at work in history and nature; fourth, He is revealed in Jesus Christ in the most unique manner and in terms which man can understand. In short, Kagawa believes in a personal God who is one, but revealed in the person of Jesus Christ and presently working in history through the person of the Holy Spirit. In this manner, Kagawa conforms to the traditional Christian belief in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Following is the detailed discussion of these four major points.

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[6] The Japanese term Shinko Shukyo, meaning Newly Risen Religions, is the term in common use in Japan today. Some prefer to limit the term Shinko Shukyo to that crop of religions which mushroomed immediately before and since World War II. Others apply it to religious organizations as old as Tenrikyo (founded in 1838) and Konkokyo (founded in 1859). Kagawa's usage seems to side with the former.

Oneness of God. First, Kagawa attempts to establish the oneness of God. In his Religion of Jesus, Kagawa states:

> The God whom Jesus experienced in His heart was One. Those who are most sensitive to the voice of conscience feel that God is One. The soul of man is essentially one, and should never be ruptured, or disintegrated...When our consciences become keen and return to the religion of the soul, God is always One. Therefore, the religion of conscience always worships a God who is One. Christianity is the religion of life and conscience. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that the God who created and who reveals Himself in the conscience is One.[7]

This monotheistic stress is significant in a polytheistic setting of Japan's ancient religious life. The Shintoist sees no essential distinction between the Creator and created things, between god and man, or between material and spiritual qualities.[8] In spite of this religious background, Kagawa's significance became evident. He professes his faith in one God, who is not a natural power but is sovereign and transcends history and nature. Yet, He reveals his will in human history. Kagawa appears to employ an empirical and anthropological approach in order to establish his monotheistic argument. He says:

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[7] Toyohiko Kagawa, Iesuno Shukyo To Sono Shinri (Religion of Jesus and Its Truth), I, 144.

[8] Naojiro Nishida, "Japanese Spiritual Tradition and Shinto," Japanese Religious Life (Tokyo, Sohbunsha, 1956), pp. 13, 14.

> You may explain it in many ways theoretically but empirically God is One because the conscience is one. If a man's conscience becomes disunited, at that moment idol worship begins. When conscience is defeated by self-interest, by social customs or by outside authority, and the life power is scattered in many pieces, God also seems to be broken to bits.[9]

It appears that Kagawa intends to say that God is One because human conscience is one. But, the nature of human conscience is such that one cannot pin it down by definition. It is "ineffable," and the "ineffable" is not subject to analysis. According to Kagawa, the self is simply an immediate awareness of conscience, and in a full-conscious state, man can intuit God categorically as "One." Thus, "to the conscience in good working order," Kagawa states, "God is One; but when the conscience degenerates, pluralism appears."[10] Kagawa believes that there are people who are uniquely individual, private and free; they are not parts of any other person. In other words, he rejects a personalistic absolutism which is quantitatively singularistic and which recognizes only one Universal Mind, of which seemingly many persons are not identical with the God who creates and sustains them. Fully developed consciousness, then, is uniquely individual, private and free, and God is the purest and the best example of this.

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[9] Kagawa, *loc. cit.*

[10] *Ibid.*

God as a personal reality. Not only is God one, but Kagawa's God takes a personal form. Kagawa proclaims, "the religion Jesus taught was a religious life where prayer grows in the warm contacts of personality with personality."[11] Religion for Kagawa appears to be the relationship between "I and Thou." Consequently, a semi-conscious or unconscious mind can hardly understand God. Kagawa says:

> It is difficult for an imperfect personality to understand the personality of God. Since God is perfect, a completed personality, we can only indistinctly see Him through our broken personalities. In proportion to the completion of our personalities, He is revealed to us.[12]

From this personalistic view point, Kagawa divides the religions of the world into two major groups: religions centering around a person on the one hand, and impersonal religions on the other.

> In the former the emphasis is on God, but in impersonal religion the emphasis is on Law or Reason. Impersonal religion does not recognize

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[11] Ibid., p. 183, trans. Helen Toppings.

[12] Ibid., trans. Toppings.

> personality of will, therefore, it makes man's desire, itself, an illusion and would destroy it.[13]

Kagawa seems to say that religions of mankind place the emphasis on principles and precepts, on codes and creeds, but the Gospel places the emphasis on a Person, Jesus Christ. Religion emphasizes law; the Gospel offers Life. To be a Christian means to accept Christ as Lord and Saviour--to enter into fellowship with Him--to have Him dwell in man and to live in Him. One of the great differences between the non-Christian religions of Japan and the Gospel is that there is no intrinsic relationship between these religions and their founders, while in the Christian faith there is such an intrinsic relationship. The decisive fault of the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvana, for instance, is that it erases personality from the Law of the Universe. The *mu no shiso*, or the nothingness idea, in its most purified form becomes pantheism, sacrificing personality and self identities.[14] Kagawa's God, however, is not based upon *mu no shiso* but is the perfection of personal being upon whom the entire universe is teleologically dependent. The truth of the religion of Jesus is a positive affirmation of life, while Buddhism negates the individuality of the person.

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 183, trans. Toppings.

[14] *Ibid.*, cf. also Kagawa's short essay, "Mu No Tetsugaku" (Philosophy of Nothingness), XXIV, 368, 369.

Having interpreted God as personal reality, Kagawa seems to understand the whole universe as of a mind or minds and their experiences. At the one extreme, atomism makes reality disjointed with no real connections and laws. On the other hand, Platonic realism makes reality organic, connected and rational but unfortunately provides no place for particular facts and universals for it is the nature of the mind to be a distinct unit of individuality and yet to universalize. Mind experiences particulars and relates them to laws. So, for Kagawa, God is the One and personal reality at the apex of many and less perfect persons.

God of immanence. Thirdly, Kagawa's God is essentially the God of immanence who is actively present in human affairs. The sense of the immediate nearness of God finds expression in various passages of Kagawa's writings. His anti-rationalistic and mystic mood of thought seem to appear most constructively and effectively in his dealing with the immanence of God. To the Oriental mind, cultivated by the pantheistic and mystic tradition, divine indwelling is the apex of religious experiences. To the Occidental audience, Kagawa often climaxed his lectures in the blessed experiences of having God dwell in man's conscience. In his lectures in the United States in 1950, Kagawa states:

> I am a scientific mystic. The more scientific I am, the more I feel that I am penetrating deeply into God's world. Especially in the domain of biology do I feel as though I am talking

> face to face with God. Through life, I discover purpose even in a mechanical world. Science is the mystery of mysteries. It is the divine revelation of revelations.[15]

Emerson Bradshaw, Kagawa's travelling companion for the period of his five months' evangelistic tour in the United States, writes in his Unconquerable Kagawa, how vividly Kagawa narrated the nearness of God:

> The God whom Kagawa has found is as near to him as his hands and arms. He fills and illuminates and dominates his whole being. The life of every moment is a phenomenon of God's heart. Every task is the combustion of the flame of God. He greets us in the kitchen; He gazes intently upon us at the well. In the bustle and hustle of the factory or when hanging on the strap in the crowded car we breathe God. When we lift the iron sledge and are hammering out the steel we are in God's bosom.[16]

Although Kagawa's idea of God is dominated by immanence, God is not identical with the world as is the god of the pantheist, who makes the essence of God completely immanent in the world. The Buddhist doctrine of sokushin jobutsu which regards the present body as a Bodhisattva, for example, has no sympathy from Kagawa. In this teaching, the universe is identified with God but Kagawa believes in God as the Creator of the universe, and there is a qualitative difference between the Creator and the Created. Likewise, Hindu doctrine, atman is

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[15] Emerson O. Bradshaw, Unconquerable Kagawa, (St. Paul, Minnesota, Macalester Park Publishing Company, 1952), p. 58.

[16] Ibid.

Brahman, has no place in Kagawa's theology of God who transcends this universe. Kagawa, on the other hand, has no sympathy with the Deism in which God is essentially absent or transcendent from the world. For Kagawa, God is both immanent in presence and activity and transcendent in essence with respect to it. The nearness of God which is accessible for the fully developed conscious mind, excites and greatest wonder and dread for in the time of His visitation men realize that He is the holy God who comes from another sphere and whose presence poses as a warning in man's ordinary world.

So far, Kagawa describes his God as one, personal and immanent. These attributes are accessible via theologia naturalis. Finally, and most uniquely, Kagawa, the theologian, comes to prominence over Kagawa, the philosopher, when he proudly adds the fourth attribute of his God that He reveals himself in Jesus Christ. In Kagawa's interpretation of religion, there is no way to reach God other than through Jesus Christ. Jesus, the Christ, as the manifestation of God Himself, obviously remains as the norm of Kagawa's system. Therefore, God Who is manifested in Jesus as the Christ must receive full treatment in the following section.

II. JESUS, THE SON OF THE TRIUNE GOD

Beginning with Kagawa's The Quest of the Historical Jesus, he devoted himself to the writing of his trilogy on Jesus: The Religion of Jesus and Its Truth, Jesus and the Inner Meaning of Love for All Mankind and The Inner Life of Jesus. Tomio Muto, an outstanding

Kagawan scholar, states:

> Adding to this trilogy, if a scholar should study carefully Kagawa's book, The Meditation about Christ, and his novel, Christ, he can give a system to Kagawa's view on Jesus. This task is exactly the way to formulate the life of Jesus from the four Gospels. This task is laid upon the shoulders of Kagawan researchers in the future.[17]

Beyond these definitive works on Jesus Christ, Kagawa finds himself almost compelled to deal with Jesus and his shokuzaiai in his many other works. Yoshitaka Kumano, professor of systematic theology at Tokyo Union Theological Seminary, claims that Kagawa's theological concern was primarily directed to a re-creation of the image of Jesus.[18] Thus, Muto defines the major sources of Kagawa's Christology and Kumano suggests the significant place of Christology in Kagawa's thought. It must clearly be noted that Kagawa found his religion to be that of Jesus. In other words, for Kagawa, Jesus was human. Born of a woman, He grew, experienced surprise, anger, disappointment, sorrow and death. The Gospel accounts make no attempt to gloss over His limitations of mind and body. Yet, Kagawa goes beyond the common compliment that "He was the best man that ever lived," He was "divine," a term that describes the perfection and power of his earthly living. He recognizes that some religious scholars teach that Jesus was merely a man. This thinking, Kagawa charged, prevails when the mystical religious experience of God disappears from among men and religion becomes tasteless. For his example, Kagawa used the Unitarians who teach that God is one, that Christ is only a man, and that the Holy Spirit does not exist as a separate person. This emphatic stress upon the transcendence of God is exorbitant in that it does not tell the whole story. In other words, Kagawa intends to re-create the image of Jesus, colored with mystic romantic diction.[19]

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[17] Tomio Muto, "Kaisetsu," Zenshu I, 506.

[18] Yoshitaka Kumano, "Shiteki Kirisutokyo; Kagawa Toyohiko Fujii Takeshi No Baai," Fukuin To Sekai, XX (August, 1965) 98.

Jesus Christ, the Manifestation of God. Kagawa is primarily interested in Jesus as the manifestation of God, and intentionally avoids falling into the Docetic fallacy of making Jesus Christ simply divine. Nevertheless, Kagawa's primary concern is obviously not directed to the re-creation of the historical Jesus but to his "consciousness" of shokuzaiai and its actual practices. In it, man sees the way to reach the Heavenly Father. For Kagawa, to be sure, Jesus is the only way to God. How does Jesus relate Himself to the Heavenly Father? Are they identical with different names? By no means, because the Father precedes His Son whom He begat, and is beyond Him. Nevertheless, Jesus Christ was one with the Father by virtue of his possessing a clear consciousness of God each moment of His earthly life. As man's knowledge of his selfhood is solely based on his self-awareness, and as there is no other basic description of his selfhood than that he is one, so Christ possessed the consciousness that "I and the Father are one," (John 10:30). Kagawa, on the other hand, carefully states that this oneness of the Father and the Son is not the Buddhist idea of _sokushin jobutsu_, or the mind is Buddha, making the Son a part of God. This is a truly personal relationship of "I and Thou" and is not a violation of identities.

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[19] Ibid., p. 99.

The stress on the transcendency of God as seen in the writings of Karl Barth, Kagawa believes, is a welcome movement to reverse the anthropocentric tendency of religion in this century. According to Kagawa, Barth corrected the fault of humanism which mixes God and the universe and overstresses man's natural ability to be like God, neglecting the wonder of God's creation and his mystical providence. The statement: "I and the Father are one," (John 10:30), does not imply any type of pantheism but is founded upon a full realization of the transcendental God who is in heaven and man who is on earth, having infinite qualitative difference between time and eternity.[20]

Yet, too great a stress upon the transcendency of God, Kagawa fears, leads man to the cold deity of Mohammedanism. A Moslem would argue vigorously and effectively for the proof of God _via negatae_. He asserts that man cannot predicate any positive attribute of God except in the nominal sense. An analysis of the nature of attributes reveals that they are superadded to the essence of their objects. Attributes, therefore, cannot be positively predicated of God,--for they would be accidental to His being, and, as accidents, would destroy his essential unity. In God, existence and essence are identical, whereas in creatures, existence is accidental. Thus, the negative attributes are said to be the only true attributes. They give man an indirect knowledge of God by denying existence as attribute, plurality and imperfection of God, and man comes to know that He is One, and perfect.

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[20] Kagawa, _Seirei Ni Tsuiteno Meiso_ (Meditations on the Holy Spirit), III, 328.

Kagawa also sees the "fearfulness of God," the "oneness and perfection" of God and an "infinite and qualitative difference between time and eternity" but not to the extent that man is cut off from God without any point of contact. Jesus Christ called God the Heavenly Father. To be sure God transcends man, by virtue of being a "Heavenly" Father, but at the same time, He is man's "Father" who is love incarnated. "The transcendent God in Heaven becomes an immanent God as his Father."[21] Man discovers that God is not a fearful one because of the example of the life of His Son, Jesus Christ. Man and God draw closer together through man's experience and consciousness of Christ.

In Jesus Christ, man observes the historical concretion of the transcendental God. To be sure, Jesus Christ must be understood as the second member of the Holy Trinity. In fact, Kagawa's idea of the Holy Trinity seems to be grasped in dealing with such ideas as God's transcendency, immanence and manifestation; or, His creation, preservation and redemption. Man experiences God as the Heavenly Father when he seeks to have Him as the object of his worship. Through the

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[21] Ibid., p. 321.

Holy Spirit, Who is mystically present in man's immediate consciousness of the indwelling God, God strives unceasingly to guide him to higher levels of spiritual life. Moreover, this same God sent His Son in the form of man to live in the world in order to bring him to a clear understanding of His gracious purpose, shokuzaiai.

In short, the outcome of man's experience with the Triune God is that he intellectually comes to understand the Truth; emotionally to intuit shokuzaiai; and volitionally to become courageous to bear the Cross. It seems to be necessary to stress that Kagawa describes that Jesus Christ not only had a clear consciousness of this experience but He was also "the Son of God," (John 10:36). In Jesus Christ, Kagawa saw the concrete manifestation of shokuzaiai through whom the Heavenly Father's creative and the Holy Spirit's preservative works are transparent. For Kagawa, this idea of the Holy Trinity is of the uttermost importance for the religion of Jesus. For one sided stress upon the transcendence of God results in the cold, unrelated God of Mohammedanism. Others stressing the immanence of God lead man to Buddhist pantheism; and still another stress upon the concrete forms of God alone tends to lead to the various practices of polytheism.[22]

In the true religion, however, man understands God as a God of transcendence in the person of the Father; as the God of immanence in the person of the Holy Spirit; and as the God of manifestation in the Son, when his full-conscious mind intuitively communes with the divine reality. The Apostle Paul said concerning this idea: "One God and Father of us all, who is above all (i.e., transcendence) through all (i.e., manifestation) and in all (i.e., immanence)," (Ephesians 4:6). Kagawa says man will come to this experience of God, Who is "above," "through," and "in" all, whenever he experiences the true religion. Again, this mystical teaching of the Holy Trinity is not accessible as the result of _kyo_ of theological dogma but as the by-product of _do_ in daily religious experience.[23]

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[22] Ibid., p. 244.

Kagawa, having established his view that Jesus is the divine manifestation of _shokuzaiai_, enters into his idea of redemption proper. In Jesus, God has established a contact with mankind. In Jesus, people see the Christ, the concrete manifestation of _shokuzaiai_ of the Heavenly Father in the course of human history. Indeed, Kagawa's idea of redemption can hardly be comprehended without the life and work of Jesus Christ. For him, Christ _is_ the redemptive love. Kagawa established the divinity of Jesus by understanding Him as the Son in the Holy Trinity although he did not stress this aspect.

Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of Mankind. In the life of Jesus, the eternal, cosmic, mediating principle between God and the world is no longer a philosophic term but a human life. The meaning of the universe and the nature of God can be discerned in relation to the nature of Christ.[24] In Kagawa's theology, the Incarnate Jesus stands for God as revealed; not for his transcendent being or inner nature, but for that of God which can be projected into the world and become immanent. Incarnation is the final form of revelation. This is more than speaking of revelation at a point in history or of a climax of revelation. The revelation vouchsafed in Christ so much surpasses other revelations as to make the Apostle John assert that other revelations do not count, (John 1:18; 10:8; 14:6).

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[23] Kagawa, _Eien No Saisei Ryoku_ (Everlasting Re-creation), IV, 358.

Further, Kagawa's view of incarnation distinguishes Christianity from docetic views. For docetism, the Logos might be the Saviour but not one who could conceivably have "become flesh." It is just from the flesh man needs to be saved. Kagawa's idea of salvation is not a sort of spiritualization. It consists, rather, in the fact that God Himself becomes flesh and accepts man's conditions without reserve. For him, all else depends upon the infallible reality of this, that the Son of God really "became flesh" and really suffered death on the Cross. This intimately affects the question of God's love; for only if it is true, is a real divine love revealed in the life and death of Christ.

Thus, Kagawa teaches that the descent of God to lost humanity is followed by the ascent of the soul to the Deity. There is no possibility for man apart from God to work out his way up to fellowship with God. However, in the Incarnation of the Logos, the foundation of a new fellowship between God and the fallen human race is established. "By incarnation," says Kagawa, "I mean the lifting up of this lower world by a power from a higher One."[25] Man cannot ascend to Him in His sublimity but He in His love has descended to mankind. What was impossible for man, God Himself has made possible by His miracle of the Incarnation.

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[24] Kagawa, The Challenge of Redemptive Love, III, 402.

There is no wonder why Kagawa considers the incarnation, rather than the death and resurrection of Jesus, the central truth of the gospel, and the source from whence man is to draw his principles. Indeed, Jesus Christ, the Incarnation of redemptive love, is the criterion of Kagawa's entire thought. Religion for him is the fact of "God coming down to earth and experiencing man's way of living... God's incarnation in the body of Jesus--this is the supreme religious experience."[26] For Kagawa, the incarnation must take account of redemption because the revelation Christ brought was not complete until his passion and resurrection. It is not only Christ's birth as a man but also his whole life and achievement which gives Him supreme significance both as revealer of the divine concern for man and as solver of the human problem. Kagawa's theology of the Cross gives content to his thought of the Incarnation. For him, the incarnation and the Cross form an indissoluble unity, and the two phrases, "born of the Virgin

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[25] Toyohiko Kagawa, Meditations, trans. Jiro Takenaka (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), p. 99.

[26] Kagawa, Religion of Jesus, I, 150.

Mary" and "suffered under Pontius Pilate," always stand together. The latter is indeed the meaning of the former. In this sense, the Incarnation does not only indicate His birth but encompasses His whole life of birth, transfiguration, ministry, death and resurrection as well as ascension. Kagawa declares:

> ...I cannot but feel that Christ's life, as He lived it day by day, was more an act of redeeming love than the few hours He spent upon the Cross. For what is Jesus' life but a revelation of God, this life of lowly service to which He gave Himself in utter abandon driven on by the relentless passion to save mankind, this passion of redemptive love?[27]

The incarnation is, then, the manifestation of redemptive love in the earthly life of Jesus Christ, climaxed in his sacrificial death. The incarnation is the concrete and complete manifestation of redemptive love on an historical level which is climaxed in the death of Jesus Christ as the supreme expression of redemptive consciousness, the utmost value and reality of the universe.

Inasmuch as the Incarnation includes the whole life of Jesus, so the Suffering and Death of Jesus were not a mere three hours upon the Cross. Kagawa says:

> The Cross of Jesus was not wholly contained within the three hours on Calvary. The path the hungry

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[27] Kagawa, The Challenge of Redemptive Love, III, 364, trans. M. Draper.

> and weary Son of man trod for three years and a
> half was a long journey along Via Dolorosa.[28]

The entire life of Jesus Christ was the Christ-event in which man can find the principle of incarnation. It is explained by Kagawa:

> A life which saves others must be without fail a life which stoops from the high to the lowly. This is the story of the one who suffers...he is sometimes beaten, sometimes persecuted, but even while he is undergoing these difficulties, he presses on, and devotes his energies wholly to helping others...There is no other way for all those who would serve their fellows but to be prepared from the outset for suffering, because only those who serve must go as sent from the God of the immense and eternal universe into the narrow confines of this world,...and it is to be expected that suffering and travail of spirit will be their lot.[29]

Kagawa's interpretation of the life of Jesus needs systematic attention by some scholar but this writer needs to confine his task to investigating the place of Jesus in special relation to shokuzaiai. This limitation is justified by the fact that Kagawa's unique interest is in the psychological re-creation of Jesus with his own mystic and poetic imagination. Doing so, Kagawa's poetic eye focused primarily upon Jesus' consciousness as the redeemer while the normal approach of any study of the life of Jesus Christ is directed to the problem of the Messianic consciousness or God-man consciousness. Kagawa himself has suggested an overemphasis in nineteenth century theology on the personality of Christ, and its forgetting the necessity for the blood of the Cross. His own emphasis deals with the period of His ministry.[30] Kagawa did not pursue the re-creation of the personality of Jesus as such but he concentrated all his attention on the Blood of the Cross, the mystery of sacrificial love. Consequently, the life and death of Jesus must be interpreted in his criterion of shokuzaiai. As Kagawa often repeats in his various writings, his God is "love" fully manifested in Jesus Christ.

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[28] Kagawa, Meditations, p. 10.

[29] Kagawa, The Challenge of Redemptive Love, III, 361, trans. Draper.

> Christ came into the world to show the human race the love of God. All the teachings of Christ have relation to this love. Salvation means that God is love. Providence also means that we are kept by the love of God. Judgment means that he will weed out those who do not believe in the love of God.[31]

Kagawa's interest in Jesus Christ is mainly his concern for redemptive love. Jesus Christ as the manifestation of God's shokuzaiai is the accurate interpretation of Jesus' work and life. The norm of Kagawa's theological system is now crystal clear in shokuzaiai or redemptive love. This redemptive love must be carefully and thoroughly understood by all researchers in Kagawa's thought.

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[30] Knudten, op. cit., p. 325.

[31] Kagawa, Meditations on the Holy Spirit, III, 334, trans. C. A. Logan.

Jesus Christ, the Shokuzaiai. As consciousness has three stages, the sub-consciousness, the semi-consciousness and full-consciousness, so love has three stages.

> There is, first, instinctive love. From the standpoint of a fully conscious love, this love is subconscious. When this at length becomes ethical, it becomes conscious, but it has not reached the point where it is conscious of the whole universe. Even love which is only ethical is still incomplete. Men should learn to have affection for those whom they like, but it is a fact that we cannot always like those whom we should...Therefore, if we cannot learn to be affectionate toward those for whom we feel a natural antipathy, our love will not be strong enough to overcome these natural barriers and will not last throughout the course of life.[32]

These three grades of love; instinctive, ethical and redemptive, are not exclusive and in the natural order of things. The first tends to develop into the second and the second into the third.

Redemptive love seems to be the definitive category of Kagawa's theological methodology, particularly in his Challenge of Redemptive Love. It becomes comprehensible only when these two stages, instinctive and ethical loves, are understood. His interpretation of instinctive love is expounded in Love, the Law of Life as the concentration of all one's powers upon self, "self-realization" or "self-satisfaction."[33] Kagawa explains that it

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[32] Kagawa, Challenge of Redemptive Love, III, 423.

[33] Kagawa, Ai No Kagaku (Love, the Law of Life), VII, 119.

> ...concentrates every energy upon the ego. Whether they call their theory "hedonism," "perfectionism," or "evolutionalism," they all mean simply "perfecting the individual;" and they expound their theories as if they were utterly unaware of the perfecting of anything more than the individual.[34]

Friedrich Nietzsche's so called aristocratic philosophy is placed by Kagawa in this category. For Nietzsche, morality is a triumphant affirmation of demands; a creator of new values. He "transvaluates" the old values, passing "beyond the good and the wicked" and substituting it with his own valuations: "good" for the aristocratic warrior virtues, "vile" or "mean" for the ideals of the slaves.[35]

This type of love is also illustrated by Henry Drummond as protective love which operates unconsciously. He discovered "that the evolution of animals does not necessarily follow solely upon the struggle for existence, but that beside this there is the factor of protecting love which operates consciously."[36] This protective love is essentially self-love to protect oneself and one's own species.

The second type of love, semi-conscious or ethical love, is illustrated by the Russian, Prince Peter Alexeivich Kropotkin, whose book, Mutual Aid, A Factor in Evolution, classified its author as an anarchist who looked to cooperative organization to furnish a satisfactory basis of society. He turned to anarchism as an honest and humane protest against the injustices that he saw practiced under the Czarist regime. The majority of laws appear to be maintained, he declared, for the protection of special privilege. Quite evidently such a purpose is implicitly present in laws regarding property; Kropotkin goes beyond this plain evidence and maintains even that laws against crimes of violence are made necessary only by social injustices, and that when the injustices are removed by the abolition of property laws, the tendency to crime will diminish and finally cease. In Mutual Aid, he advocates, in places of government, the establishment of voluntary cooperative groups, motivated by natural human fraternity, in much the same way as trades unions, scientific and philosophical societies, and the like. Mutual aid, he argues, has been at least as strong a force in biological and human evolution as self-preservation and greed have been.[37] Kropotkin is fired by an exalted confidence in man's moral potentialities. He offers a vision of an ideal society in which men, relieved of artificial institutions and frustrations, and educated from childhood to understand and respect each other's rights and to substitute mutual aid for competition as the guiding principle of social living, can achieve significant cooperation to such a degree that external restraints are unnecessary.

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[34] Ibid., p. 120.

[35] Ibid., p. 93.

[36] Ibid., p. 96.

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[37] Ibid., p. 89.

Kropotkin's mutual aid is a gathering of people with a feeling of friendship which in any definitive sense is something one bestows with discrimination. Toward some of the earth's inhabitants, his feeling is neutral; toward others, he may be hostile. Moreover, he cannot usually control his feeling of love in his relation to others. It is largely independent of the will. And yet, Jesus' command to love is uncompromising in its universality.[38]

Thirdly, the solution to the paradox lies in observing that the love which Jesus enjoins is expressed in Kagawa's term, shokuzaiai, or redemptive love. This means love for another self not because of any lovable qualities which it may possess--that, so far as it goes, is ethical love--but purely and entirely because it is a self, capable of experiencing happiness and misery, and endowed with the awful power of choosing between good and evil. Shokuzaiai means to reverence human life everywhere and under all conditions. Even one's enemies can be loved in the Christian sense of the word. Thus, its expression demands self-sacrifice.[39]

The shokuzaiai is manifested in the purest form in the life and death of Jesus. This love is "the new force which amends the cosmos, the new design for amelioration where mutual aid cannot avail."[40]

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[38] Ibid., p. 89.

[39] Bradshaw, op. cit., p. 104.

[40] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 91.

This form of love is only accessible by the fully awakened consciousness. The miracle of miracles is that the fathomless love of this universal love is revealed in Christ.[41] The essential characteristic of this highest love, as Kagawa understands it, is its readiness to sacrifice itself for others. Nevertheless, love's sacrifice shall never fail to be creative of a new being. There is also production of new value as a result of one's sacrifice. Kagawa states:

> The power which remoulds even criminals, who from the criterion of natural selection would be excluded, is neither mutual aid nor social justice, but is, absolutely, God's new creation.[42]

In this love, man finds re-creative energy by which the self is melted in the perfect crucible called Christ.

> When the new creation begins, sin is suddenly dissolved and disappears in just the same way the iron and copper are melted in the electric furnace...Love means, then, exactly this that God does make a new creation.[43]

This third type of love is, then, the manifestation of God Himself in the redemptive sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and the creation of a new man. Moreover, its expression demands self-sacrifice. Kagawa vividly describes this love in these words:

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[41] Kagawa, Jujika Ni Tsuite No Meiso (Meditations on the Cross), III, 137.

[42] Kagawa, Love, the Law of Life, VII, 137.

[43] Ibid., p. 92.

> Love! Has it not moved a man to give his own flesh to one incapacitated for working; another, sympathetically to nurse an invalid wife for twenty years, others to care for orphans, to pity the aged, to save people, even total strangers, who have fallen by the way in the struggle for existence?[44]
>
> If there were only one sinner in the universe, all creation would suffer sorrow and pain.[45]
>
> God's energy is expended upon very insignificant sinners, and humanity wearies itself on behalf of its defectives. In both are to be seen the principle of the red corpuscles of the blood.[46]
>
> Love is...directed not alone toward superior beings but in particular toward the weak, lifting them by its tremendous efforts.[47]

All in all, Kagawa makes it clear that there is a fundamental principle of suffering for the sinner and the unworthy in the universe.

> ...if there is in the universe a single flaw, the whole universe suffers; just as in the human body, suppuration in one part causes pain throughout the body, and if the condition is allowed to persist, the final result is the destruction of the whole body.[48]

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[44] Ibid., p. 91.

[45] Ibid., p. 101.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., p. 192.

[48] Ibid., p. 101.

Christ, the purest manifestation of God Himself, was an unfolding of redemptive love. Throughout His public life, Jesus revealed Himself fully as creative love: Christ, the redemptive love, was, however, not fully revealed until his sacrificial death on the Cross.

This may be similar to Anders Nygren's eros and agape motifs. Unconscious and semi-conscious love may be essentially man's longing upwards to a higher level of being, stretching up to the higher away from the world of the lower. Yet even at its highest, eros is a desiring and an egocentric love, aimed at some satisfaction. Full-conscious love or agape on the other hand, is something outside the range of man's natural possibilities, and man could not have known about it but for the Christian revelation. This is God's love coming to man and so, in contrast to eros, agape is theocentric and selfless, seeking not its own.[49] Nevertheless, Kagawa's full-conscious love differs from Nygren's agape motif in that Kagawa does not see the dialectical tension of agape and eros. Instead he sees a gradual transformation of sub-conscious love into semi-conscious love which, in turn, reaches full-conscious love by the immanental influence of God.

For Kagawa, shokuzaiai necessarily involves suffering. The suffering of God is precisely the suffering that is occasioned by embracing in love someone who does not deserve it. The transcendent suffering of God is manifest in the sacrificial life and death of Jesus Christ. Indeed, the manifested sacrifice of Jesus must be taken as a clue to the transcendental suffering of God.

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[49] Anders Nygren, Agape and Eros, trans. Philip S. Watson, (Phila.: The Westminster Press, 1953), p. 52.

The suffering of God is not easy to understand in an age of material success and pleasure-seeking such as the mid-twentieth century. Here lies the possible importance of Kagawa in theology today. For Kagawa, this has been largely an age of suffering. He actualized God's suffering in his own life, surrounded by individual and social injustices. Kagawa, *namida no yogensha*, or a prophet of tears, was a sensitive man who actually felt the suffering of people.[50] As such, he became a witness to the redemptive love manifest in Jesus Christ.

Sacrificial suffering on behalf of someone who does not deserve love is one important difference between semi-conscious love and full-conscious love. In the former, when one sacrifices himself, the life for which one sacrifices is always one within his group. God's redemptive love comes about, on the contrary, in His loving the unlovable and letting His Son die for the sake of that love. Mutual aid does not understand a love that loves the enemy. The Suffering of God is not one quality among many qualities of love. For Kagawa, it is *the* quality at the center of redemptive love. To be sure, God is traditionally believed to be impassible. That is, suffering is thought to be foreign to his nature. Kagawa departs from this tradition and classifies himself with the patripassians.

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[50] Chitose Kishi, "*Namida no Shingaku*," *Bulletin for Kagawa Toyohiko Zenshu*, No. 6 (February, 1963), p. 1.

At this point, Kazoh Kitamori's Theology of the Pain of God presents a parallel thought. Kitamori's theology is the conviction that "pain is the essence of God"[51] and "human pain is the expression of God's wrath."[52] It is not inflicted upon man by a wrathful God but is used by God as a symbol of His own pain. For Kitamori, man must be willing to suffer in order to participate in the redemptive plan of God. Kitamori's utmost seriousness about the "wrath of God" necessitated vicarious pain in order that justice be satisfied in the government of God. At this point, Kagawa's theology of redemptive love departs from Kitamori's theology of the pain of God for Kagawa has no equal view of the wrath of God. It may be said that the wrath of God is absent in Kagawa's theological writings. Kitamori who saw God's pain as the result of his embracing the object of his wrath, may consider Kagawa no longer adequate because Kagawa finds no place for a conflict between the wrath and the love of God. Indeed, Kagawa, who was overwhelmed by the love of God, hardly saw the wrath of God. For him, God is redemptive love because he is forgiving, sacrificing and benefiting His children.

In this sense, Kagawa's view of the Cross may be referred to as "love monism" for God's overwhelming love, on account of love's own sake, wills to suffer for the sake of sinners. Kagawa saw the divine motive of suffering in redemptive love itself. It was the suffering caused by God's care for the sinner. This suffering has for Kagawa methodological primacy for his understanding of *shokuzaiai* or redemptive love, this norm of Kagawan theology. The precise content of the full-conscious love is sacrificial suffering motivated by redemption.

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[51] Kazoh Kitamori, Konnichi No Shingaku (Theology Today) (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1950), p. 76.

[52] Kazoh Kitamori, Kamino Itamino Shingaku (Theology of the Pain of God) Tokyo: Shinkyo Shuppansha, 1946, p. 69.

Thus, Kagawa is straight forward in defining God as love. What does it mean to say that suffering is the very essence of the love of God? It means that God, who loves the unlovable, does so at the price of letting His Son die. This suffering alone heals the brokenness of man.

CHAPTER IV

NEED OF REDEMPTION

Umeko Kagawa, a daughter of Toyohiko Kagawa and the present executive director of the Unchusha, stresses the fact that her father's view of man should be understood as opposed to a materialistic view.[1] It is no wonder that Kagawa's novels, poetry and works on religious and social subjects take on an apologetic character against such men as Darwin, Feuerbach, Marx and Nietzsche. Throughout his entire life he fought against Dialectical Materialism, offering instead his Christian interpretation of man. This chapter, therefore seeks to present Kagawa's understanding of man as opposed to a materialistic view.

I. A MATERIALISTIC VIEW OF MAN

Normally, the materialist notion of nature is that it is a great, self-sustaining whole beyond which nothing else can exist. By definition, the real is equated with the natural totality of matter and motion, so that anything spiritual and transcendent of nature is ruled out in advance. Since Kagawa's writings are apologetics particularly aimed at the writings of Charles Darwin and Karl Marx, this writer's task now is to view their philosophical systems.

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[1] Unchusha, or the Pillar of Cloud Foundation, was founded in 1938 with strong support and help from H. Hirao, Minister of Education at that time, and many other friends. Kagawa was the first chairman of the Board of Directors. Its purpose is to aid Kagawa's social, educational and economic programs, such as the labour, co-operative and other beneficial movements. Kagawa believed that these programs are a definite expression of the redemptive spirit of Christ. The Kagawa National Committee in New York and many other friends both in Japan and the United States have contributed greatly to Kagawa's work through the Unchusha.

Charles Darwin. Kagawa notes that the Darwinian hypothesis is not intrinsically absurd and that the evidence so far advanced in its support renders it a plausible explanation of the biological order. The foundation of this theory is found in the hypothesis of natural selection: that the means whereby the evolutionary process takes place are the four interrelated factors of variation, struggle for existence, survival of the fittest and heredity. First, variation among the particular members of the species, says Darwin, is the result of change, modification, growth and adaptation rather than a derivative of special creation.[2] Second, the "struggle for existence" is based upon intense competition among members of the species and between one species and another to obtain food and escape predatory enemies. Third, survival of the fittest describes the tendency in the main for the more vigorous and better adapted animals to survive in the struggle until at least they have reached the age of reproduction. Fourth and finally, heredity is the tendency of the surviving variations to be passed on to the following generation. The hypothesis further supposes that the continuance of this process over many generations would have a cumulative effect resulting at length in very extensive changes.

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[2] Toyohiko Kagawa, Seizon Kyosono Tetsugaku (Philosophy of the Struggle for Existence), IX, 356.

Kagawa's quarrel with Darwin is particularly directed toward the second and third postulates. Influenced by Malthus' _Essay on Population_ with its thesis that while the population of any society tends to increase in geometrical ratio, the food supply tends to increase only in arithmetical ratio, Darwin reasoned that there would normally tend to be a continual struggle among organisms for food, and on the whole those participants in the struggle that were better adapted than others would tend to survive.[3] Kagawa is a firm believer in the idea of progress. Indeed, the ideology of progress is antagonistic to ancient Greek fatalism, and it appears to have come into prominence largely as a part of the climate of opinion associated with the man of the Old Testament who "conceives God as the ruler of history, who directs the historical process to a goal."[4] Thus, affirming progress or evolution, Kagawa points out that the great fallacy of Darwin is his insistence that the struggle for existence provides the sole explanation for natural selection. Kagawa states that the significance of the hypothesis of natural selection is in its idealogical alliance with another idea--the idea of progress. But the two ideas, natural selection and progress, are logically independent; for it is easy to think of competitive struggle without any implication of resultant improvement and it is possible to think of a kind of progress that does not involve competition. The connection between the ideas, then, is not logical but ideological. It must be carefully noted that the ideological alliance is a group belief, being an ideology that social betterment is actually taking place; and it is a further implication of the word "ideology" that any group belief so designated is an expression of, and a mask for, certain strongly held but largely unacknowledged group interests.

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[3] _Ibid_., p. 359.

[4] Rudolf Bultmann, _The Presence of Eternity_ (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 7.

Kagawa rejected the struggle for existence as the only factor of evolution, believing rather in the teleological principle which guides progression intellectually toward mutuality of every variation.

Karl Marx. His second major apologetic effort was directed against the Feuerbach-Marx line of materialism. Feuerbach sometimes calls man an absolute, in the sense that he is some all-enveloping agency. However, man's awareness of his God given abilities to recognize good and evil contribute to his personhood. Man is infinite and universal in the sense of being capable of an endless increase in his knowledge, which is not bound entirely to the initial limits of sensation. Man's religious awareness of the infinite is simply an awareness of his own infinite nature. It is the sort of qualified infinity of perfect actuality which belongs to God as the goal of man's religious search and worship. From the fact that only man is a religious animal and has God as an object, Feuerbach argues sophistically that God is only an objectification of human nature in its desire for perfection. With the help of metaphysical propositions, Feuerbach absolutizes the traits of man and nature:

> Truth, actuality, sensuousness are identical. Only a sensuous being (Wesen) is a true, an actual being...Space and time are the existential forms of all being. Only existence in space and time is existence...All real existence, i.e., all existence which is truly such, is qualitative, determinate, (and hence finite) existence...That which has no effect upon me, has no existence for me...If God is the negation of everything finite, then logically the finite is also the negation of God.[5]

Karl Marx essentially agrees with Feuerbach and postulates man as "the dynamic self-sufficiency of man in nature." He stresses the containment of human activity and aspiration within finite nature and also the distinctive contribution of human intelligence and work to the natural order. Marx highlights the function of labor as the means of humanizing nature and naturalizing man in order to insure the dynamic union of man and nature. Also Marx stresses the importance of the transforming power of labor in history as providing proof of finite self-sufficiency. Through his work with others and in a natural environment, man becomes social man and

> here for the first time his natural existence is his human existence and nature has become human for him. Thus, society is the complete essential unity of man with nature, the true resurrection

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[5] Ludwig F. Feuerbach, The Essence of Christianity, trans. George Elliot, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 14, 15.

> of nature, the achieved naturalism of man, and the achieved humanism of nature.[6]

Marx was bound to seek to eliminate God from philosophy, since man and nature would be nothing more than mere predicates of this unique spiritual subject. He appeals to men's piety toward nature and their humanistic reverence toward cultural achievement.

Marx is atheistic in the sense of denying the real existence of any supremely perfect being distinct from the finite world. He is atheistic not only because of God's unreality but also because he thinks that the acceptance of God alienates a man from himself and nature. Man engages in religious estrangement and worship of God as a protest against social tyranny and the inhumane use of material power. It is the method of social rather than psychological genesis which finally uncovers the basal motive for abstractly positing and worshipping a God.

> The abolition of religion, as the illusory happiness of men, is a demand for their real happiness. The call to abandon their illusions about their condition is a call to abandon a condition which requires illusion...The immediate task is to unmask human alienation in its secular form, now that it has been unmasked in its sacred form. Thus the criticism of heaven transforms itself into the criticism of earth, the criticism of religion into the criticism of law, and criticism

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[6] Karl Marx, "Private Property and Communism" Three Essays, trans. R. Stone (New York: Pioneer Publishing House, 1947), p. 21.

> of law, and criticism of theology into the criticism of politics.[7]

This is an indispensable anatomy of human estrangement, says Kagawa, but is not sufficient to remove this idea definitively.

II. THE CREATIVITY OF MAN

As has become clear in the discussion of the previous section, Feuerbach and Marx estimated with shrewd perceptiveness that the philosophical future belonged to a combination of humanism and materialism. Their materialistic humanism added another qualification that the God of Christianity and the Absolute of Hegel be removed. They were willing to explain everything with materialistic mechanism, determinism and sensationalism. The error of the ancient materialist Thales, as well as such recent men as Feuerbach and Marx, lies in the very fact that they observed man merely by objective law. This materialistic Weltanschauung is the common denominator of those who look at an external world excluding man's unique selfhood. The perceived world may be described in mathematical symbols which, in turn, may be interpreted in material form. Nevertheless, for Kagawa, the important fact is to realize that objectivity does not govern subjectivity in this phenomenal world.[8]

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[7] Karl Marx, "Toward the Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right," Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, (London, Watts, 1956), p. 27.

Subjectivity. Whence can man find the universal reality? Here Kagawa distinctly answers that reality is actually accessible through men's notion, but not from "the perceived world" of imperfect sense experience.[9] Kagawa directs the reader's attention to the sharp distinction between internally directed intuition and externally directed reason. The latter comes into man's awareness through sense organs which cannot be the instrument of finding the universal reality. Kagawa is distinguished by his very insistence upon the immediate nature of intuitive experience which is "insight" or in other words, that which provides knowledge. Such a description of the intuitive datum would indeed remove the curse of the arbitrary from the immediate, for such experience not mere feeling but knowledge of the immediate, for such experience gives a value-system or axiology which can be constructed.[10] Thus Kagawa is also unsatisfied with Kant's immediately given disposition (Gesinnung), restrained by a formal categorical imperative; the resultant dichotomy is absurd and can be resolved only if the moral experience is understood as somehow transcending the limitations of mediate and immediate in an apprehension of reality (Wesensschau).

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[8] Kagawa, Seimei Shukyo to Seimei Geijutsu, (The Religion of Life and the Art of Life), IV, 77.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., p. 76.

Kagawa's writings do not indicate any acquaintance with Edmond Husserl who is a contributor to phenomenological methods. However, in a further development of Kagawa's position, values come to be described as self-existent essences. For Kagawa such a declaration of objectivity is necessary in order to avoid a relapse into complete subjectivity with all of its concomitant difficulties of the arbitrary. In this writer's opinion, Kagawa was convinced that Wesensschau can exactly be attained phenomenologically by concentrating entirely upon the realm of essences, of meanings with an exactitude of scientific description.[11] "Men's perceived world" or a given Weltanschauung, which is based on some ideology formulated by empirical information, can hardly offer a knowledge of God. Man's Weltanschauung differs widely by various ways of sensory perception without reaching the Absolute because man's ideas are formulated, extended, verified, and accepted within the relative and conditioned. The empirical method of epistemic effort always results in a relative Weltanschauung, hopelessly separated from the reality. John S. Mill attacks the traditional design argument for God, insisting that every indication of design in the cosmos is so much evidence against the omnipotence of the designer. He contends that "design means contrivance," or the adaptation of means to an end, and this necessarily implies a limitation of power. Kagawa agrees with him in the impossibility of a purely empirical proof of God without the aid of the intuitive knowledge of a person which teleologically guides men into a world of values.

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[11] John B. Cobb, Jr., Living Options in Protestant Theology, (Phila.: The Westminster Press, 1962), p. 203.

Kagawa maintains that men must make a clear distinction between existence and reality. The former is relative while the latter is absolute. Here Kagawa sees in naturalistic dialectics great confusion:

> Its first error is that it confuses matter and object, (2) it confuses law and matter, (3) it tries to see existence in the world of phenomena, (4) it confuses matter and material functions, (5) it confuses psychological action with brain matter, (6) it confuses existentiality with materiality, and finally concludes that matter can have the senses, too.[12]

Against these confusions of materialistic Weltanschauung Kagawa finally finds a clue to reality (Wesensschau) in his subjective awareness of selfhood, as Descartes uniquely expressed this truth when he said: Cogito ergo sum. The truth about res cogitans is the unconditional principle of Descartes' philosophy in that it is the first truth attained with certainty by the inquiring mind and is therefore not derived from any prior knowledge. Thus Cartesian doubt is animated by a readiness to accept indubitandum as a res cogitans and not a res extensa, should it be found, and a willingness to assent to the truth of anything that can resist the most rigorous test of doubting. Thus, Kagawa believes that reality as immediate intuition has its origin in selfhood.

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[12] Kagawa, Jinkaku Shakaishugino Honshitsu (Principles of Personalistic Socialism), trans. Topping, XIII, 220.

It is evident that man's immediate awareness of selfhood is quite different from his perception of material substance through the sensory organs. Indeed, the being called self is the primary substance, and matter is the phenomenal knowledge being perceived by self.[13] There is no more certain existence than the self in one's subjective awareness. Kagawa calls self the reality of realities. This selfhood provides a beginning point to seek "the universal reality," which is personal.[14] Kagawa, the personalist, establishes his methodology when he recognizes no other way to ultimate reality than through personal being, and therefore, reality itself must be personal. He implies in the above argument that universal reality can be revealed only through the conscious self.[15]

Empirical fact and value judgment. Approaching the main point of his anthropology, Kagawa declares that men need not distinguish empirical fact from value judgment as two unrelated categories, if the universal reality is "Life."[16] He says:

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[13] Kagawa, The Religion of Life and Art of Life IV, 78.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., p. 79.

[16] Ibid.

> My existence is proved in the fact that I live in the world of value, uniting external free will which has selective freedom to adopt every external change and also inner free will which raises my "self" to greater existence. The more I develop value in my life, the greater my world of existence becomes.[17]

Kagawa then questions the relationship between value and existence. Commonly, empirical fact precedes its value, and dependency of value upon the objective fact of existence is accepted. This is evident in every form of life which comes to decay, shedding the physical body, after its birth, childhood, manhood and maturity.

Nevertheless, ultimate reality cannot be observed externally through human sense experience. At the same time Kagawa stresses the fallacy of placing such a value system as good, truth and beauty prior to empirical fact in an idealistic manner. But in man's consciousness, self is the clearest object of knowledge. The two categories of existence and value unite to form a vitally connected whole.[18] In the self, existence means value itself, and value is existence itself.

On the contrary, in the phenomenal world, there is a distinct separation of existence and value. How then does the world of matter relate itself to life which is intuited as "I"? How does the law of value arise and govern the world of matter? The material world is, as Kagawa previously suggested, a world of mathematical symbols which are changing constantly.[19] Man should not push aside the signs and symbols of the phenomenal world carelessly, for they are actually real and affect man's selfhood. Were the actual reality intuited only a a subjective agent outside the phenomenal world, the epistemic effort in the objective world becomes vain.[20] Kagawa still maintains that the antithetical tension between subjectively intuited reality and objectively perceived and conceptualized phenomenon is real. Nevertheless, ultimate reality is not considered by Kagawa as "existence" of "matter" but as life in which man intuites the complete merger of existence and value. It is then evident that Kagawa's personalism utterly rejects materialistic sensationism, and places intuitive knowledge of the conscious self in the world of value, not in the world of existence.

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 80.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

Determinism and freedom. Moreover, Kagawa's view is not in total opposition to the mechanism of materialistic interpretation. He states

> The mechanism of matter can be explained by the necessity for stability. But in order to explain life, the selectivity and purposiveness of mechanics must be called in. Otherwise, the explanation is impossible.[21]

Since Kagawa affirms that the world of life is founded upon matter, it must conceal design, and all material phenomena are not totally explicable on mechanical principles. Further, he says:

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[19] Ibid., p. 81.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Kagawa, Principle of Personalistic Socialism, XIII, 205.

> Matter is a beauty seen on the screen and in itself it does not exist. We are compelled to look for the substance--the reality--existing beneath that appearance.[22]

The world of life as seen by man looks as if it were founded on the substratum of matter; but if he looks a little closer, he finds that the principle of life penetrates to the principle of matter. In other words, Kagawa believes it is not matter that turns into life, but it is life that is lodged in matter. Materialists in general think that the universe is not governed by intelligence, purpose, or final causes but that everything is strictly caused by material processes or entities. That is to say, on the one hand, they declare matter is mechanical and blind, but on the other, they speak as if the "truth" is matter itself. This tendency is all the more marked in physiological materialism. Physiology can never be explained if teleology is ignored in cytology, genetics, nutrition, or neurology. There can be teleological materialism. If it is conceded that there is purposive design behind phenomena, it would be an admission of God behind matter. There would be extreme difficulties if selectivity and purposiveness were denied in nutrition, neurology or genetics. Kagawa thus found a "controlling force" that has purpose, laws, selectivity, growth, change and force. This is something beyond material existence with deterministic mechanism. It is found in the world of freedom, and of life.[23]

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[22] Ibid.

Free Will. The materialist would not see the microcosmos which is revealed through the self, the identity of one's subjective self and epistemic function. In sense perception consciousness of the object and self consciousness coincide. This consciousness is generally considered in indefinable terms or rather as a term definable only by direct introspective appeal to conscious experiences. The indefinability of consciousness is expressed by Sir William Hamilton:

> Consciousness cannot be defined: we may be ourselves fully aware what consciousness is but we cannot without confusion convey to others a definition of what we ourselves clearly apprehend. The reason is plain: consciousness lies at the root of all knowledge.[24]

Within this consciousness, existence and value entirely lose their identities. One's free will is the foundation of this intuitive event through which the epistemic content will be chosen through the deterministic world of matter. However, man gains his knowledge of the deterministic world of matter by his free will commanding his sensory perception at its own will. Further, man's free will is the sole agency to receive value, or axiological interpretation, when he formulates the content of knowledge.[25] In the world of value, certain values can appear out of non-value which is not acceptable in the deterministic law of causality. In materialism, nature itself is only a developed mode of material process which does not think but gives rise to thinking beings through the organization of matter into animated bodies having sense powers. Man's ideas are intrinsically dependent upon sense organs, and consequently, he has no intellectual or spiritual power transcending matter.

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[23] Ibid., p. 206.

[24] William Hamilton, Lectures on Metaphysics, (New York: Sheldon and Company, 1860), I, p. 191.

[25] Kagawa, Shukan Keizaino Genri, (Principles of Subjective Economics) IX, p. 221.

However, from the axiological point of view, a theory that mankind evolved from the primates is exactly an appearance of being out of non-being. Evolution for Kagawa is a type of creation from an axiological point, wherever selectivity and purposiveness are at work. He believes that something new is added to a previous condition in the process of evolution. Evolutional theory should not be interpreted as deterministic and mechanical causality but from an axiological view of a value creation, for evolution is the rise of a new being out of non-being.[25]

Kagawa makes an important application of this discussion in his comparison of a religion of existence and a religion of value. Characteristic of the former, Mahayana Buddhism teaches man's immediate union with universal reality as the ultimate religious truth. Without the consideration of value the Buddhist believes in man's immediate access to reality. This experience is the ontological realization of oneness without any mediative agency. This immediacy becomes apparent when the Japanese Buddhist practices ancestor worship in a combined desire for an endless personal life and a concrete union with the world: the former desire is accomplished by communion with the dead ancestors who enjoy eternal life, and the latter is fulfilled by belief that one's ancestors are actually existing in the world. The Buddhist tries to merge with universal reality by passing the normative world of religious consciousness into an existential union of the human soul with universal reality.

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[25] Ibid., p. 222.

On the other hand, Christianity, illustrative of a religion of value, often ignores the question of concrete acts of life. It tends to have no certitude in regard to concrete life; rather, it is primarily concerned with the value estimate of human life. Christian salvation is said to be an eschatological experience, and the application of this religious experience to concrete life is not stressed. Often compromising with the lower moral standard of contemporary life, the Christian may encounter a double aspect to human life--the sacred and the secular, and in the latter the former will not be vitally related. Denominationalism in the Christian Church, says Kagawa, reflects the typical selfish judgment of men relativizing absolute religious value in a compromise with the economico-cultural background of the contemporary world.[26]

Axiology and Ontology. It is Kagawa's basic presupposition that value is primary and being is secondary. What is then the standard of value? Can man find the absolute standard of value? Ontologically speaking, to be is the greatest value. Kagawa, on the contrary, attempts to arrive at reality axiologically, finding the standard of value in the subjective awareness of one's self alone. However, value judgment of the self includes the transcendental absolute as Kant, Wundt, Bowne and Lotze so eminently point out. It is indeed the judgment of the subject, but in value it has absoluteness in its anticipation. It is subjective to say "I live;" however, it is absolute at the same time because it will not permit any secondary judgment. When man eats, drinks or dresses in his own act of will, his axiological judgment is absolute because in his immediate act of value acknowledgment, there is always an element of absoluteness. The form of "absoluteness" is not existentially given but it is given in the form of value. Therefore epistemic value is produced only when man receives it in his subjective selfhood. At the same time, subjective life will not possess absoluteness without evaluation of "epistemic value."[27]

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[26] Kagawa, The Religion of Life and the Art of Life, IV, 77.

Kagawa's understanding of man is founded upon his bold affirmation of life and its creativity. He praises life, the apex of the evolutional process in the entire natural phenomena, and truly affirms the imago dei in man, whose self expression should always be "upward, onward, forever." This is a radical reaction to the negativism of Buddhism from which he received his basic religious teaching. The first principle in Gautama Buddha's teaching is his doctrine of real value in which he rejects causality and advocates the achievement of Nirvana by which man is emancipated from the pressure of nature, the struggle of mankind, and every form of fatalism. Etymologically the word Nirvana means "to blow out" or "to extinguish," as a fire ceases to burn because the fuel has been consumed. It has been widely supposed that the extinction to which Buddhism points is total, and absolute annihilation.[28]

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[27] Kagawa, Principles of Subjective Economics, IX, 223.

It is, stresses Kagawa, an insufficient state of the soul, for one's self-consciousness still remains even though he would cast everything away from his existence.[29] He believes it is utterly impossible for one to cease to be as a self unless he himself ceases to exist. Kagawa, in contrast to Buddhism, believes that religion should be a courageous affirmation of life and a constant praise for its wonder. It is not negation but affirmation of life and its ideal toward which his conscious mind strives. If man casts off all appearances, says Kagawa, there would still be unchangable law, which is the Universal Mind. Later, when the modified Mahayana School of Buddhism reached Japanese shores, the active work of mind was found in its teaching. While the key virtue in Hinayanist was bodhi or wisdom, emphasizing the absence of self-seeking more than the active doing of good, Mahayana focused attention on a different word, karuna, or compassion. Unless it eventuates in compassion, wisdom is worthless. Compassion is the distinctive product of the human mind which itself is not merely materialistic nor deterministic but self existent, free and anti-fatalistic. It is creative and growing, something idealistic and mysterious. Religion is the mind's device, and its task is to affirm the reality of the mind. Religion, therefore, promotes freedom, creativity and the meaning of mental reality.[30]

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[28] Huston, Smith, The Religions of Man (New York: The New American Library, 1958), p. 120.

[29] Kagawa, Meditations About God, III, 46.

Nevertheless, there is yet something more than the functioning of the mind. Within man's mind, there is an additional revelation of God's attributes. One who transcends man gazes into his mind, bestowing ideals and encouraging him to seek the way to heaven.[31] In this transcendental element, which dwells immanently within his mind, man finds hope, courage, discipline, patience, and harmony within himself. When man rejects this immanence of transcendence and insists upon human finitude, avoiding the effort to reach toward perfection, he loses the very value of existence. Jesus Christ demanded this perfection when He said: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." (Matthew 5:48, KJV). There should be no contradiction between the purpose of universal perfection and man's purpose of life.[32]

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., p. 48.

[32] Kagawa, Ningentoshite Mitaru Shito Paul (The Apostle Paul as a Man), II, 32.

Kagawa significantly realizes that he is not life itself. The "Life" indwells him and works throughout the world. This Life is Kagawa's God, who is "ontologically the ultimate reality, ethically value itself, and logically the Truth."[33] Some contend that God does not enter into the realm of human subjectivity since man is what he is without external intervention. Is man created by the divine or is he a self-created being? Kagawa states:

> I believe that I cannot negate the existence of a power which transcends me in this world. My consciousness of selfhood involves absolute judgement concerning my self. This judgement is an absolute guarantee of my selfhood.[34]

This absolute guarantee of selfhood is derived from the Absolute Life which transcends man and yet immanently indwells in him. This Life of God, according to Kagawa, is absolutely self moving, and therefore, as man draws closer to Him, his life becomes freer. In man's immediate awareness of self, he intuits something more than the freedom that is innate in himself. Living is for Kagawa immediate awareness of something beyond the self within the self. In other words, man intuits the existence of life prior to the category of "I-hood." This priority of life teaches man that he does not live, but is made to live. Kagawa employs the unique expression that "the Absolute gazes into man."[35]

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[33] Kagawa, The Religion of Life and The Art of Life, IV, 82.

[34] Kagawa, Meditations About God, III, 25.

[35] Ibid.

On the other hand, man is able to gaze into the Absolute as in an occasion of man's judgment of a moral situation. Man's consciousness grows constantly, selecting the superior alternative among many. In doing so, man approaches "the extreme acme of Life."[36] Strangely, Kagawa believes that human life is related both to past life and to future life. Moreover, man's effort to reach his ideal is possible because the Universal Life works through him, although this Life does not often rise to his awareness (Galatians 2:20). What Kagawa states, with emphasis, is that within man there is an aspect which is not his "self." The mystery of selfhood exists in the fact that man becomes aware of the Life beyond him. Only when he steps into the realm of the absolute, does he realize God, the power of life, who enters into his realm of selfhood.[37] Therefore, man's realization of selfhood is dependent upon his realization of the Absolute Life. Through the power of life, man becomes aware of evolutionary potentialities. In Romans 8:1-17, the Apostle Paul records man's struggle in moving one step upward from the man of flesh to spirit. This is indeed a creation of new value and is in an exact sense a _kiseki_ or miracle.

The term "miracle" has often been defined as a breach or suspension of natural law by special divine action. In _An Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding_, David Hume argues that there can never be human testimony strong enough to render it rational to believe that events have occurred which are directly in conflict with the whole working of the natural order. He insists that the testimony for a miracle story, however good, must be outweighed by the counter-evidence that man has in favor of the universal operation of natural law. Says Hume:

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[36] _Ibid._

[37] _Ibid._, p. 26.

> There must, therefore, be a uniform experience against every miraculous event; otherwise, the event would not merit that appellation. And, as a uniform experience amounts to a proof, there is here a direct and full proof, from the nature of the fact, against the existence of any miracle.[38]

The definition of miracle, however, which is operative in Kagawa's argument reveals a transition from a purely physical definition of miracle as a breach or suspension of natural law to a religious evaluation of it as some striking and mysterious event which mediates to some who witness it the purposeful presence of God. A miracle, says Kagawa, cannot be understood by those who do not see the difference between the natural law which governs physics, chemistry or biology and the teleological law which works through natural law, reaching to the final telos. Kagawa believes that there are three types of miracles: natural, physiological and sociopsychological.[39]

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[38] John Hick (ed.), Philosophy of Religion (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 136.

[39] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 34.

According to natural law, the universe appears as material, an accidental and mechanical entity, but man can see selectivity, growth, power and adaptability through the teleological law. A miracle is then the belief in the unseen realm of telos within visual nature. Supernatural means, according to Kagawa, teleological law against a natural law. When man rises from the horizon of nature toward the purpose, the supernatural event will happen. "When I release a book from my hand," Kagawa says, "it will certainly go down. Nevertheless, I can pick it up with my purposeful hand."[40] This is a supernatural event to Kagawa. When man resists the mechanical and deterministic interpretation of life and believes a miracle, i.e., the possibility of life, he is vertically rising from natural law.

Kagawa, however, dares not give up the natural law in which teleological law is necessarily involved. A miracle is possible through the world of natural law. When man is surrounded by prostitutes, the poor and the needy, the miracle is a transformation of these people. It is natural to fight in ordinary life but Kagawa desires the supernatural world of peace. In this sense, the miracle of Christianity is the world of prayer in which men believe in the possibility of life. It is man's faith in God who works through man's life. Mankind yearns for freedom--the peak of evolution. God mysteriously selects some and rejects others in this theistic evolution; the natural element is not deterministic. In this evolution, there is a distinctive order; predetermination, call, justification and glorification. By justification, Kagawa means that God regards the weak, the sinful and the finite as though perfect, and prepares the way for their glorification--the peak of theistic evolution--transforming them into the image of God.[41]

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[40] Ibid.

III. PROBLEMS OF EVIL AND SUFFERING

This bold affirmation of the goodness of man as the apex of God's creation is the foundation of Kagawa's theology.[42] Obviously, Kagawa's understanding of man causes many people to raise questions against him, because the root of Christianity is thought to be in the redemption of sinful man through the sacrifice of Christ. Does Kagawa deviate from the traditional teaching of the Church? Is Kagawa straying from the Christian concepts of original sin and the total depravity of man? Does Kagawa's Christianity neglect the redemptive work of Jesus Christ? Is man so good and so progressive that he can look forward to nothing but a bright future? This writer believes that Charles Kingsley and Frederick Maurice strongly influenced the young life of Kagawa at Kobe Theological Seminary. Believing that redemption is of secondary importance, Kingsley teaches God, Christ and man have been unified from the beginning. Christ's function, therefore, was merely to make man aware of this relationship and to exemplify the Divine-human ideal. Kingsley further states that the word "at-one-ment" (atonement) does not imply the reunion of estranged man with God. On the contrary, it is a manifestation of a oneness between man and God which has never been violated. Since all men are created in Christ and therefore, are the children of God, there is no real differences between the world and the Church.[43] In his affirmation of the original goodness of man Maurice agrees with Kingsley:

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[41] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

> Just in so far as we recognize the principle, that man, by the constitution of his being, is spiritual,--is united to a Being above himself, he lives in fellowship with that Being--and that man, according to nature, following impulse and inclination, sinks into himself, forgets that union, strives to become a mere animal, and yet can never so accomplish his striving but that he must retain some marks visible to others, some consciousness in himself, of the manhood from which he has fallen.[44]

Kagawa approaches the mystery of life with its selectivity and purposiveness with wonder, joy and adoration. His optimism leads him to believe in the eternal progression of the world. Therefore, he essentially agrees with Maurice and Kingsley that every man is a member of the Kingdom of God, whether he recognizes Christ or not. Did Kagawa then deny the redemptive sacrifice of Jesus Christ as the necessary condition for the salvation of mankind? By no means, as Kagawa is not so naive as to be ignorant of the evil which surrounds him and others.

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[43] Una Pope-Hennessy, Canon Charles Kingsley (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), p. 72.

[44] F. D. Maurice, The Kingdom of Christ (London: S.C.M. Press, 1958), vol. II, p. 195.

To be sure, it was Kagawa's major concern in life to probe the problem of evil.

Kagawa's serious attitude toward evil became apparent in opposition to Danjo Ebina, an outstanding Christian in the Meiji era.[45] Having been influenced by Fichte and Hegel, says Kagawa, Ebina was too optimistic in his view of man:

> The Hegelian philosophy of history is too lenient for me. His philosophy is unreasonable in that it judges everything a part of the dialectical process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, weaving every idea into the stage of history.[46]

Kagawa seems to find the spirit of Samurai which boldly affirms one's capability to perfect oneself. Kagawa finds, however, in himself a distinct inheritance of sin. He was the child of a concubine.[47] He acknowledged his need of shokuzai from the Savior. Therefore, there can be no doubt that Kagawa was deeply concerned with the problem of evil. His contribution to the problem of evil and suffering is significant and must be acknowledged in order to understand his theological ideas. Axling expressed Kagawa's view as follows:

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[45] Kagawa, Ten No Kokoro: Chi No Kokoro (Mind of Heaven: Mind of Earth), IV, 474-479.

[46] Ibid., p. 479.

[47] Ibid., p. 478.

> Sin, oh, what a hateful word. Simply, the sound of it causes me to shudder. Sin destroys all things. It denies all things. It is darkness. It is destruction. It is death.[48]

This quest for an understanding of evil was already initiated when Kagawa graduated from Meiji Gakuin College and entered Kobe Theological Seminary. He directed himself to a study of the universe, including such natural sciences as astronomy, geology, biology, physics, chemistry and such social sciences as law, ethics, religion and sociology, hoping to locate the source of universal evil. Motivated by this specific purpose, Kagawa pursued the subject for the rest of his life. Many works resulted from this study including: "History of Brutality" in _Spiritual and Social_ (1919), _Human Suffering and Human Architecture_ (1920), _Attitude Toward Affliction_ (1924), _Thorns that Remain_ (1926), _God and Victory Over Suffering_ (1932), and _Purpose of Universe_ (1958). Kagawa never explains the reasons for his deep concern with the problem of evil in any one of his writings, but Tomio Muto designates four basic factors which may have stimulated his interest: First, Kagawa's early environment--his birth as the child of a concubine, the death of his parents and his boyhood with an unaffectionate step-mother--may have fostered an unusual preoccupation with the suffering and misfortune of human life. Second, when he entered the Meiji Gakuin College at the age of seventeen, he had intended to read all the books in the library. Muto believes that Kagawa was particularly impressed by the

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[48] Axling, _op. cit._, p. 189.

Book of Job which offered him a classical picture of the problem of universal evil. Job's suffering, his conversation with his friends, Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, and the profound truth in the book caused young Kagawa to face the problem of evil seriously. Third, Kagawa suffered the agonies of tuberculosis as a young man, and his life was plagued by a series of sicknesses which afflicted him constantly until his death.[49] Sickness and death were not merely academic problems, but to him they represented the real struggles of his own life. Finally, Kagawa's entrance into the slum, Shinkawa, at the age of twenty forever altered his thinking. In the slum Kagawa minutely observed poverty, misery and evil.[50] Kagawa found the real cause of evil to be deeper than in the problems of socio-economical systems.

It is of utmost importance for Kagawa to raise questions concerning the existence and effects of evil in this world. Jesus gave neither a philosophical interpretation of evil nor a revelation of its origin.[51] Nevertheless, without any doubt, Jesus recognized the existence of evil. In the final sense, however, says Kagawa, natural evil is not man's responsibility for it, for "God is not so powerless that He cannot hear the burden of individual evil as well as social evil."[52]

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[49] Cf. Masayuki Murashima's Kagawa Toyohiko Byochu Toshi (Osaka: Tomoshibi Sha, 1958). This book traces the life of Kagawa on the theme of Kagawa's fight against the series of sicknesses.

[50] Muto, Kaisetsu, XIII, 456.

[51] Kagawa, Attitude Toward Affliction, II, 104.

However, a question still remains. If the creator of this universe is a God of love, why did he create calamities for mankind? If God is responsible for evil, one might question his goodness and love. Kagawa believes that evil exists in this universe the providence of God. Evil is then God's instrument to train mankind through its various expressions (Isaiah 28:24-29).[53] God selects and punishes His people but it is not of evil intention. He intends that man should awaken to full consciousness of his sins and should repent of them. Indeed, says Kagawa, "for the proof of God's goodness and love, He shall save us all at the end (Isaiah 32:15).[54] It is clear, then, for Kagawa, evil is within God's control.

There is in fact a solution to the problem of the origin of evil in the Book of Job, says Kagawa, in which Satan is described as subject to God's sovereign control. Satan was assigned one act in the divine drama by God. This is precisely the key to the problem. Satan is under God's control and is working as His subordinate. God uses Satan to enact his own will. Kagawa finds the answer that God employs Satan as an instrument of his revelation.[55] Evil is not itself the purpose but merely the expression of the divine providence. God takes full responsibility for evil in the human drama in which Satan's activities are under divine supervision.

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Kagawa, Kirisuto No Aidokusho (The Favorite Book of Jesus), IV, 195.

[54] Ibid., p. 196; also cf. Michio Kozaki, "Kirisuto Ni Chikaku Ikita Hito" (Man Who Lived Close By Christ), Bulletin for Kagawa Toyohiko Zenshu, No. 11, (July, 1963), p. 2.

[55] Kagawa, Attitude Toward Affliction, II, 124.

Furthermore, God warned Satan not to touch the life of Job (2:6) which Kagawa observes demonstrates that suffering is progressive in its intensity but has its limit. Satan cannot cross the limit of God's command. Whatever the temptation and sorrow may be they shall not be beyond man's limit of endurance.[56]

In making God responsible for the evils of the universe, does Kagawa imply that God is partially evil? He answers in the negative. Not only has God no part of evil, but, says Kagawa, there is no real existence of evil in this universe. In the Neo-Platonistic manner, Kagawa negates the real existence of evil, claiming the absolute existence of a good God and no other. Nevertheless, men must boldly affirm evil in this world. Men need to recognize the defective situation of human existence. Is not Kagawa then contradicting himself in negating and affirming evil at the same time? At his point, however, Kagawa is in agreement with Saint Augustine. Augustine argues against the contemporary sect of the Manichaeans that evil is not any kind of positive substance with an independent status and power of its own. On the contrary, it always consists in the going wrong of something that is in itself good. Being as such is good, and evil has a parasitic status as the privation and corruption of a good substance. The point at which evil first enters into God's good creation is through the misused freedom of finite creatures. And yet even this evil willing has a negative character; it is a turning away from a higher to a lower good, from the supreme Good to created goods. Evil has thus no positive or "efficient" cause, but only a "deficient" cause.[57]

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[56] _Ibid._

Kagawa believes that Satan is an "objective projection of value estimation" without ontological existence. This projection will fade away as human history advances. Satan is nothing but the problem of human sin which is only ethically real in him. Kagawa affirms that the personal existence of Satan is disappearing as man's intellectual development advances. Moreover, belief in Satan is dependent on faith in a good God. This naturally means that Satan can also be redeemed. Further, Satan cannot act as an immediate agency but only through mediated human agency. The real enemy then is not a personal Satan, but man himself.

Careful observation of how the personality of Satan has developed throughout history indicates that he is usually placed in an elaborate order from lesser evil to the highest evil being. Babylonian evil, Bell Merodock, for example, ranks top among Ekin, Telul, Maskin, Labossu, against the good god, Tiamat. Often, the cause for the ranked order of evil is the reflection of foreign tribes. As the conquest of foreign tribes was made, they turned toward religious forms of Satan.

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[57] Cf. Saint Augustine Enchiridion (Vol. I of Basic Writings of Saint Augustine, ed. Whitney J. Oates. 2 vols.; New York: Random House Publishers, 1948), p. 658.

In the course of history, it must be noted that Satan has evolved into a meeker personality. John Milton's Paradise Lost, for instance describes Satan as a leader of a large company of evils whose affection and sympathy toward lesser evils are intimately expressed. Recently, however, the concept of Satan is disappearing as knowledge and human achievement increase. Kagawa believes that these historical observations indicate that evil has not existed apart from moral good, and that it has never won victory over good in any record of human history. According to Kagawa, evil is as is Satan, the "objective projection of value estimation" without ontological reality. In the progress of mankind, the evil god or demon has lost its distinctive shadow because he was merely man's projection of his own image. Man will not forget evil as long as he keeps evil. To be exact, the problem of Satan is the problem of man's sinful nature.[58]

In relation to this historical approach to Satan, man observes also the evolution of the concept of hell. In any narrative of the origin of nations, there are few, if any, ideas of hell. Nowhere in the Old Testament is the abode of the dead regarded as a place of punishment. The concept of an infernal "hell" developed in Israel only during the Hellenistic period, probably under the influence of Iranian ideas. It was from Egypt that the idea of hell progressed to most of all the other nations. However, the Egyptian conception of hell is entirely identical with the earthly administrative system. Obviously, the idea of hell is a by-product of an evaluation of religious life without an ontological foundation of a geographic location called "hell."[59]

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[58] Kagawa, Human Suffering and Human Architecture, IX, 29.

Kagawa firmly believes that the problem of sin is a human responsibility caused by a _zure_ or discrepancy in the souls of men, and is not a problem of external reality localized in the person of Satan or in a place called "Hell." Such natural evils as poverty, struggle for existence, sickness, senility, death and natural disasters, are physically caused suffering, whereas fear, sorrow, pain, ugliness and imperfection are the products of mental sufferings. These can be improved by external amendment but sin or moral evil is man's own responsibility.[60] There will still remain a serious problem, says Kagawa, after various forms of social reforms have been carried out. Even if socialism or communism is established, there are some people with whom personality problems remain. The final problem of social reconstruction and the most difficult one to solve is the problem of sin.[61] Sin is attributed only to man's own responsibility, thus Kagawa states:

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[59] _Ibid._, p. 30.

[60] Kagawa, _Kamini Yoru Kaiho_ (Emancipation Through God), V, 42.

[61] Kagawa, _Religion of Jesus_, I, 149.

> An insane person is one who does not recognize the condition of his own mind; he cannot do so until he has recovered from it. But, many people today do not recognize how far they have gone astray from God, and think themselves to be righteous. It is the present condition of mankind to be terribly unconscious of their sins.[62]

To Oriental minds, it is possible to think of the Cross of Christ's karma, says Kagawa.[63] As such it is the unmitigated law of retribution working with equal precision in "good" and "evil" deeds and thoughts, thus determining the nature and circumstances of incarnation. The Cross is understood as the effect determining the unavoidable circumstances of Christ's life. Such determinism is, however, in complete contrast to the attitude of Christ. Dialectical materialism stresses also the deterministic nature of man in which the world has to come to a deadlock as the result of extreme tension of thesis and antithesis which has a way of escape only in revolution. Until the eighteenth century, people stressed the absolute sovereignity of God. They regarded men as worthless worms, rejecting any fragment of the Imago Dei in them. As such, individuals are totally under the sovereign will of God without any possibility of exercising free will. One can, believes Kagawa, break any external determination when they counterattack with certain power within their soul, which is the significant ingredient of any reformation of cleansing within man's society. Man is made in the image of God; man is not destined to be a worthless worm, in the struggle between perfectionism (Arminianism) and determinism (Calvinism).

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[62] Ibid., trans. Topping, p. 168.

[63] Kagawa, Meditations on the Cross, III, 145.

In his book, Purpose of Universe, Kagawa speaks of universal evil, including natural catastrophes, individual poverty, sickness, death and sufferings.[64] Excluding natural evil from man's responsibility, Kagawa defines moral evil as evil apparently originating in the human agent. Moral evil results in pain for those who are aware of their selfhood. It is neither a problem of environment nor one of inheritance. It is the problem of man's free will. It is the tendency of a suffering man to side with evil, although he possesses the ability to avoid it. Kagawa assumes that the nature of morality is progressive.

What is, however, the standard of progress? Is it changeable in itself or is it unchangeable? In the sphere of value, unchangeable law is not a physico-chemical law. It is only to be found in the category of selfhood. The category of selfhood is an intuitive awareness of ontological reality as value. Therefore, the law of self-construction is the evolution in life of value itself. If there be an unchanging morality, it must be the existence of the "self" and its progression toward the direction of love. Nevertheless, this is not an unordered world. It is regulated within the experience of the self, following the direction of the previous tendency. The tendency is the sole standard of the critique of value, i.e., the self with its purposiveness and selectivity. According to Kagawa, as moral good is progressive, so is moral evil. Thus, moral evil lacks ontological existence. It is founded upon the creative evolution of personal free will. The responsibility, therefore, falls upon the free will of man. Thus, he who lives courageously and constantly with his free will, finds that evil will eventually disappear. Moral evil afflicts man with the greatest suffering. Kagawa believes it is human suffering because man cannot be an ally of good even though he possesses the possibility to obtain good. The unchanging law of value, Kagawa insists, is to be found in the self. The self is an intuitive awareness which identifies its existence with value estimation. The principle which controls man's existence and life of value making insists that there exists no permanent morality except his existence and its dynamic content. Evil lies within the creative development of free will. In other words, he who will courageously live in his free will, finds that evil will eventually disappear.

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[64] Kagawa, Purpose of Universe, XIII, 455.

Kagawa's view of moral evil, as has been seen, reflects his rejection of man's responsibility for natural evil. Although many believe that natural evils--such as sickness, deformity, natural calamity and wars--come to man as various instruments of divine punishment for human wickedness, Kagawa emphatically rejects this view. For him, there is no relation whatsoever between man's life and natural calamity, for God gives suffering even to good men. People cannot escape sickness, death or any natural calamity. In Oriental minds, there would be no suffering in human life if man would accept without resistance external influences as the rigid law of karma. There would be peace if men would surrender themselves to nature--the negation of self.[65]

In the long history of mankind, men have often regarded suffering as the necessary consequence of evil. Here, they saw a necessary causal relationship between their affliction and God's wrath and punishment. Confession of sin, then, should result in healing from affliction. Most of the Shinko Shukyo, or the new religions, in Japan believe that the astounding success of their evangelical effort has its source in their teaching that affliction is God's punishment and confession of sins will surely result in the healing of affliction. This implies that evil is an internal fact and affliction is its reaction.[66] Kagawa believes, however, that natural evil is not man's responsibility.

Turning again to moral evil or sin, Kagawa explains it from the principle of life. There are, within the universe, seven spiritual powers--life, power, change, choice, growth, law and purpose. When these were rejected, the phenomena of life were suddenly upset. This confusion of life is manifested as sin.[67] He explains the basic nature of sin through seven negations of the life principles. However, this writer agrees with Tomio Muto's restatement of these seven principles as purposiveness with five categories of power, change, choice, growth and law. Sin is thought to be the exact opposite of life because it results in death. Rather than two unrelated matters, sin and life are vitally related. Sin is a negation of life; it is death. The individual or society that indulges in sin is on its way to death.[68] A turning to materialism which knows nothing about the powers of life and resurection and is forever seeking external stimuli destroys life. Obviously, materialism is, for Kagawa, sin.[69] If the freedom of God is restored within and the inner life springs up, external stimuli become entirely unnecessary. In other words, sin is everything which opposes the purpose of life. Since the purpose of life, taught by Christ, is that every man grows toward the likeness of God, Kagawa expresses the purpose of life in its full exercise of function:

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[65] Kagawa, Attitude Toward Affliction, II, 119.

[66] Ibid., p. 105.

[67] Kagawa, Everlasting Re-creation, IV, 352.

> Life's souzo sei, or creativity, hozon sei, or preservability; shuzen sei, or repairability must be fulfilled individually, socially and universally in science, morality and in the arts; or in truth, goodness and beauty.[70]

Anything less than this life phenomena of purposeful evolution with selectivity is sin. Sin is then degeneration, devolution, retrogression or depravation. Furthermore, Kagawa explains:

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[68] Kagawa, Re-thinking Oriental Philosophy, XIII, 135.

[69] Kagawa, Kirisuto Den Ronsoshi (Quest of the Historical Jesus), I, 46.

[70] Kagawa, Everlasting Re-creation, IV, 353.

> Murder is a sin because it is a denial of life. Adultery is sinful because it is estranged from that which is eternal in love. Lying is wrong because it violates the absolute character of truth. Stealing is sinful because it is a parasite on life's instinctive urge to grow. Greed is sinful because it destroys the immutability of life.[71]

Just as life as purposiveness reveals itself in five categories, so sin as degeneration expresses itself in five obvious expressions; impotence, or the negation of power; stagnation, or the negation of change; selfishness, or failure in proper selection; lawlessness; and petrified life or cessation of growth.

The negation of power--impotence--is sin.[72] It is to be thought of in the same way as failure in business. Sin is a life of enervation and of disability, a misuse of God's power.[73] How can man misuse God's power? When man wastes his energy in wrong pursuits, regarding "God-given" power as though it were originally his own, he is in sin. Thus sin is atrophy, a phenomenon of degeneracy, leading to ruin, wreck, collapse and downfall.[74]

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[71] Axling, op. cit., p. 189.

[72] Kagawa, "Paul's Interpretation of the Cross," Friends of Jesus IV (February, 1931), p. 55.

[73] Kagawa, Everlasting Re-creation, IV, 352.

[74] Kagawa, Meditations on the Cross, III, 135.

Moreover, sin is a straying away from the pathway of proper growth into a condition of stagnation. Essentially, man prefers change; life is pleasing when it is dynamic rather than static. However, when man becomes separated from the purpose of God, he finds himself unable to accomplish the good he wishes to do, preferring rather to do the evil he does not want to do. The result is the agony of a petrified life; growth has been retarded. Thus, whenever life and its desire to grow are not seriously considered, good and evil exchange places.[75]

Kagawa also explains sin in terms of failure to select the proper path, i.e., the path of perfection. It is sin to lead an aimless life without purposiveness and selectivity. An aimless life is a manifestation of rebellion against God--a display of selfishness in refusing to select the proper alternative. Kagawa distinguishes between two roads--the road of the love of God and the road of self love. To tread the path of self love is to sin because it is the failure of proper selection, i.e., love of God. Love of God does not imply the Hindu negation of life itself.[76] It is rather an affirmation of one's life with a proper fixation of purpose in God. When Jesus called the people of his day a "faithless and perverse generation" (Luke 9:41 KJV), He did not wish for asceticism or call for negation of the world, but he referred to man's tendency to choose the way of destruction although there is a way to the Kingdom of God. When Jesus mentioned the world, he referred to the blind, external, materialistic and mechanical way of thinking which awaits the day of final judgment (Matthew 8:12; 24:41; 25:30 KJV).[77]

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[75] Kagawa, The Apostle Paul as a Man, II, 23.

[76] Kagawa, Iesu No Naibu Seikatsu (The Inner Life of Jesus), I, 354.

Sin is also manifested as a ceasing to grow into the imago dei. It is a negation of growth, the inability to stretch out, a failure to develop, a withering of the self.[78] In order to explain this process of growth, it is necessary to understand Kagawa's interpretation of consciousness. Kagawa discusses the concept of consciousness at great length. God-consciousness may be defined as a strong awareness or sensitivity to the tasks and nature of God. It results in an urgent sense of responsibility to realize God's aims and in an awakening to divine purpose.

Human history may be divided into three stages according to the development of consciousness. Kagawa describes the earliest era as unconscious. In this stage, there is no feeling of guilt for acts of violence and wickedness. Up until the time of Christ, there existed an epoch of semi-consciousness. In this stage, man feels guilt and remorse after committing a crime such as murder. It was in this stage that the Jews, feeling that they could not die for their own sins, secured a goat to sacrifice in their place. It is characteristic of this stage that:

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[77] Ibid.

[78] Kagawa, Meditations on the Cross, III, 135.

> ...some men are awake and some are still dreaming. At night they are fast asleep and in the morning they doze. It is only when breakfast time comes that they stumble dizzily toward the table and finally become fully awake. In a similar way the human race had its semi-conscious era, called the age of the prophets. In that half-awake age, pondering the question "Shall I acknowledge my sin and cry for mercy or shall I not?" Part of man is still dozing. At such a time, certain forms of atonement were fashionable. Although a man acknowledges himself in the wrong and asks for pardon, he offers a sheep in his place.[79]

When full consciousness comes, a goat is seen to be insufficient. Claiming to take the place of a goat, Christ gave his own life in sacrifice. Offering himself for the sins of others, he was worthy to be called Christ. John the Baptist, aware that it must be a man who directly offers himself, pointed to Jesus and declared that he is the Lamb which takes away the sins of the world. Thus, the conscious identity which Christ had with God led him to the Cross. True God-consciousness leads to socially redemptive acts. The only way to bring back wayward man is the way of redemptive love--love which makes up for the sins of others. Since the time of Christ, the human race is gradually becoming fully conscious. This is not to say that everyone is now completely aware of and sensitive to the will of God and his tasks. This was reached fully in the God-consciousness which Jesus demonstrated in his life and which culminated in his death. There are those, however, who do not fully develop. They stop at semi-consciousness.[80] Unwillingness to come into this full awareness is sin. Jesus directed men to the perfection of the heavenly Father as an ideal. To fail to live up to this ideal is an act of sin.[81] Therefore, those who do not grow toward the perfection of life, Kagawa believes, are sinners.[82]

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[79] *Ibid.*

The fifth violation of the life principle is lawlessness. For example, destined to become a child of God, man often becomes instead a child of anger, a son of cursing. This is a violation of the divine law, a deviation from the proper way of life.[83] Kagawa, therefore, regarded sin as the violation of the principle of life as the purposiveness with the five categories of power, change, growth, selection and law. Some fifty years of Kagawa's life were dedicated to his search for answers to the problem of evil. In the climax of his study, Purpose of Universe, Kagawa expresses his basic attitude toward the universal evil:

> Shortly before the Pacific War, I had another look at the problem of universal evil from the angle of the purpose of the universe, and came to feel artistic interest in the universal structure.[84]

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[80] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[81] Kagawa, *Religion of Jesus*, I, 165.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[83] Kagawa, *The Challenge of Redemptive Love*, III, 390.

[84] Kagawa, *Purpose of Universe*, XIII, 291.

In other words, Kagawa's search for the nature of evil is a genuine part of his total system of universal teleology. Kagawa states that there is a purpose in the universe, in which an infinite number of chances is inconceivable. In order to realize the telos of the Universe, five elements are necessary: power, change, growth, selection and law.

Muto explains:

> The starting point of "purpose" is "power." Power receives "change" and "growth" toward the purpose excluding every hindrance and "selecting" the best way and method. Further, it must keep various stimulations and conditions in order to make power to grow, and we call it "law."[85]

Kagawa's theology is teleological, governed by these five categories from the simplest to the most complex beings. In highly developed beings, various elements may not appear at once in the order which ought to be. It is grasped as zure or discrepancy, which is exactly the universal evil, in Kagawa's thought.[86] Nevertheless, this zure should not be interpreted as the imperfection of the universal will but it is the necessary condition of creation of new variation.[87]

In this manner, Kagawa kept a vigorous faith in God whose goodness will finally save mankind without exception. It was significant to see this view from a man like Kagawa whose life was full of sufferings. Kagawa believed in God and His goodness and love which lead people to salvation, because Kagawa knew that there is a principle of redemption which includes the weakest one of the world.

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[85] Tomio Muto, Kaisetsu, XIII, 465.

[86] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 413.

[87] Ibid., pp. 408ff.

CHAPTER V

REDEMPTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL PERSON

I. SALVATION

Masao Takenaka, Dean of the Divinity School at Doshisha University, concludes his essay, The Impact of Kagawa and His Movement, saying:

> His (Kagawa's) interpretation of Christ's cross is close to the substitutional theory which emphasizes the sacrifice of the sinless one in order to redeem the sins of others.[1]

Yoshitaka Kumano of Tokyo Union Theological Seminary agrees with this observation when he states that "Kagawa's redemption may be understood as a repetition of ancient theories of satisfaction or substitution,"[2] which emphasize the costliness of redemption by God in Christ's death on the Cross. Kagawa believes that the depths and heights of the love of Jesus toward mankind caused him to have a full-consciousness of the necessity for vicarious death.[3] In this, Christ established the foundation of redemption. This is abundantly expressed in Challenge of Redemptive Love as seen in the following quotations:

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[1] Masao Takenaka, "The Impact of Kagawa and His Movement," The Study of Christiantity and Social Problems, VI (April, 1962), p. 65.

[2] Kumano, op. cit., p. 97.

> Christ, by sacrificing Himself, made reparation for the shortcomings of mankind in God's sight by His own righteousness, and by paying the price made men free (I Corinthians 1:30).[4]
>
> Christ gave His life in our stead, bearing the sins of men, and striving thus to correct the faults of men, and this is the essence of the redemptive spirit. We cannot but be challenged by the breadth and immensity of the redemptive love which impelled Christ to throw away His life to bring eternal life to humanity.[5]
>
> The way of redemptive love is the only tunnel of escape left by God for man in the world of conscious thought. This tunnel dug out by God follows along a vein of love. For God has duly punished the cries of mankind which could not be forbidden through Christ who courted death, so intent was He on loving men; and God has forever acquitted the human race.[6]
>
> ...we do not experience the punishment which we should in justice receive for the sins which we are committing. When we realize this, we go a step further, and feel that there must be someone who is bearing that punishment for us. Christ is that Person. And Christ says to those who have this consciousness: "I have taken your sins upon myself. You are forgiven."[7]

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[3] Kagawa, Human Suffering and Human Architecture, IX, 49.

[4] Kagawa, The Challenge of Redemptive Love, III, 371.

[5] Ibid., p. 391.

[6] Ibid., p. 425.

[7] Ibid., p. 368.

To Kagawa, Christ's death was a death of vicarious substitution, a death of redemption. "Deep in his own heart he knew that Christ had died for him. Substitution was not merely a 'spiritual' event. Christ had really taken man's place."[8]

Theory of Shazai, or Apology. Knudten, however, observes in Kagawa's thought that there is one theory of atonement which for him has more validity than any other presented in the church. It is that which may be called the theory of *shazai*. This term, *shazai*, has been translated to mean "apology," by Knudten and Topping.[9] However, this may have little meaning in Occidental thought.[10] "Thus the true meaning of redemption is," says Kagawa, "that Jesus apologized to God for all the failures and sins of mankind taking responsibility for them upon Himself."[11] Knudten explains:

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[8] Kagawa, *Meditations on the Cross*, III, 122.

[9] To avoid any possible misunderstanding, this writer would like to clarify the Japanese usage of the term, *shazai* or "apology." To understand Kagawa's interpretation of redemption, one must consider the history of the Japanese people. They greatly admire loyalty from which flows obedience to authority. This in part comes from the rules of honor that Japanese people believe in. All Japanese are taught that death is better than disgrace.

This loyalty is expressed by the terms *on* meaning debt and *giri* meaning the payment of these debts. Self-respect is of great importance to all Japanese. Where shame is the major sanction, a man must express *shazai* interpreted as "apology." This becomes a public confession of his fault. There are two Japanese words which are identical in pronunciation, *謝罪* and *赦罪*. Both words mean *shazai*, the former indicates an apology of one's own shame, and the latter means to forgive any violation of the *giri* relationship found in others.

According to Kagawa's theory of redemption, Jesus' *shokuzai* was *謝罪* which was an apology to all society as though he had been guilty of some disgraceful act. This was because of his *rentai-sekininishiki* or solidarity-responsibility consciousness for his brethren. At the same time, Jesus' *shokuzai* was *赦罪* which was an act of forgiveness for the violated relationship of *giri*. This was accomplished with Divine authority based upon His sacrificial death.

> He (Jesus) decided really to apologize on our behalf to God. The true deep meaning of redemption is that Jesus apologized to God for all the failures and sins of mankind, taking responsibility for them upon Himself.[12]

Kagawa himself substantiates Knudten's interpretation in these words:

> Some may say that it was a useless death but nothing has had a more beautiful, or a holier motive than the death of Jesus. He died really to apologize on our behalf to God. This is the sphere of the highest point which religious consciousness can thoroughly penetrate.[13]

Further, he says:

> In the struggle of an elder brother to obtain forgiveness for the sins of his younger brother, we find the meaning of redemption. Jesus thought the Messiah should take it upon Himself to apologize to the Father in heaven on behalf of the whole world.[14]

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[10] Knudten, op. cit., p. 332.

[11] Kagawa, Religion of Jesus, trans. Topping, I, 169.

[12] Knudten, loc. cit.

[13] Kagawa, op. cit., trans. Topping, I, 205.

[14] Ibid., trans. Topping, I, 196.

The motive in Christ's willing acceptance of death was an apology of the Big Brother who possesses rentai-sekinin-ishiki, or solidarity-responsibility consciousness, to God on behalf of man, the younger brother.[15] In dying, Jesus entered into a sphere of religious consciousness which no one ever reached. The Cross was then a great triumph. Through the shed blood of Christ, redemption became reality.[16]

Some Historical Influences on the Apology Idea. This apology of Jesus on behalf of sinners to His Heavenly Father as the representative of his brethren is basically derived from the solidarity-responsibility consciousness. The great extent to which social life was formalized in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868) is an important historical fact for the theology of Kagawa. It was the principle of group responsibility. Robert N. Bella in his Tokugawa Religion explains:

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[15] Helen Topping translates the term, rentai-sekinin-ishiki to mean "solidarity responsibility consciousness." This term means one's consciousness of harmony, solidarity and loyality in the social relationship. This consciousness appears when the significance of the individual as an entity emerges from the wider sphere of consciousness of social relationship, although the significance of the individual as an entity is still recognized; the recognition of the unique value of individuals is lessened, when he is placed in a social class.

[16] Cf. also Chapter II "Kirisutokyo Ni Okeru Sukui No Keiken To Sono Shinri," of Human Suffering and Human Architecture, IX, 32-55; also Chapter V "Shinko No Seiiki," of The Apostle Paul as a Man, II, 82-96, for extended discussion.

> Serious failure to conform to the norms was considered not merely to be a matter of individual responsibility. Rather, family, five-family group and even village or ward might be involved in the responsibility for the act of a single individual. Thus every person in his social actions was in a representative role with respect to his primary collectivities. . .This situation leads to a close identification with the collectivity and a tendency for all sub-collectivities to support the morality of the total collectivity at whatever cost to themselves.[17]

This Tokugawa Period of Japanese life is perhaps close to what Durkheim means by "mechanical solidarity." Kagawa is in agreement with Durkheim's approach in the sense that he ascribed ultimate social reality to the group, not to the individual. The death of Christ as the Mediator indicates nothing but rentai-sekinin-ishiki. As such, Kagawa's theory is diametrically opposed to Spencer's individualism and nominalism.[18]

The core of Kagawa's approach appears to be sociological realism, in the sense that he ascribed ultimate social reality to the group, not to the individual. For him, social facts are irreducible to individual facts. What then is a social fact? So to designate any event that is related to society or that has social relevance is to use the term without clarity or profit. In rentai-ishiki, there are some facts, Kagawa finds, that are inexplicable in terms of physical or psychological analysis; there are ways of acting, thinking, and feeling which are external to the individual and are endowed with a power of coercion over him. Illustrations include maxims of public morality, family and religious observances. Thus, Kagawa seems to conceive of a collective mind as an objective reality. The full-conscious state of the individual is then to include this objective reality, and become willing to sacrifice one's individual welfare for the sake of the collective reality.

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[17] Robert Bellah, Tokugawa Religion (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957) p. 31.

[18] Nicholas S. Timasheff, Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth, revised ed. (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 108.

However, Kagawa's rentai-ishiki is no mere historical inheritance from his ancestors of the Tokugawa Period. For him, the significance of redemptive love lies in the fact of its distinction from the profane. In short, Kagawa was not Durkheimian in his sociological interpretation of the objective and collective mind. Kagawa found shokuzaiai as divinely given and not socially created, to be the foundation of the Kingdom of God.

The Psychological Aspect of Shazai. The question still remains as to how man becomes aware of this divine grace. How can one receive it as his own possession? Thus, Kagawa's insight into the psychology of Christian experience or conversion needs to be analyzed in detail. As Knudten wisely observed, Kagawa understood redemption in the term of shazai, which, in turn, is distinctly Oriental in its origin. Thus, the analysis of Japanese psychology in general, in its long cultural history, brings new light and depth to Kagawa's theory.

Without special effort, the occidental mind may not comprehend the way in which Japanese people react to one who "apologizes" to his offenders. Nevertheless, when the redemptive love in Jesus Christ as the full manifestation of God is psychologically interpreted with special attention to the indigenizing effort of Christian doctrine in the Japanese culture, as the theory of *shazai*, Kagawa finds that it is unusually successful in bringing many to the understanding of Christian *kerygma*.

Here, this writer utilizes the assistance of Takeo Doi, psychiatrist at Saint Luke's International Hospital in Tokyo, in dealing with the psychological meaning of the Japanese mind. Doi finds in *amae* what is basic in the structure of the Japanese language. *Amae* is the noun form of *amaeru*, an intransitive verb meaning "to depend and presume upon another's benevolence." This word has the same root as *amai*, an adjective meaning "sweet." Thus *amaeru* has the distinct connotation of sweetness and is generally used to describe a child's attitude or behavior toward his parents, particularly his mother.

There is another important term, *toraware*, which means "to be bound or caught," as by some intense preoccupation. Doi observes that the cause of *shinkeishitsu*, roughly including neurasthenia, anxiety and neurosis is to be found in *toraware*. In the state of *toraware*, people are awakened to the fact that they have no "possessed their self," have not previously appreciated the importance of their existence, and have been really nothing apart from their all-important desire to amaeru."[19] Toraware, a state of man's mind without feeling of amae to the proper object, results in the state of sumanai, which is usually used to express guilt feelings, and this word is the negative form of sumu which means "to end." Doi has observed that there lies behind one's use of the word much hidden aggression engendered by the frustration of their wish to amaeru. So it seems that in saying sumanai, they are in fact expressing their hidden concern lest they fall from the grace of amae because of their agression. Doi believes this analysis of sumanai, although he is finding it in the shinkeishitsu type of person, would also apply in essence to the use of this word by the ordinary Japanese. He says:

> In other words, more than showing his feeling of being obligated, he tends to create a sense of obligation in the person to whom he makes his apology, thus, "forcing" that person eventually to cater to his wish.[20]

All in all, the Japanese somehow continue to cherish the wish to be loved intensively. They never give up their basic desire to amaeru, thus mitigating the extent of violent emotions caused by its frustration. This deep and basic desire to amaeru is further explained by Doi:

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[19] L. Takeo Doi, "Amae: A Key Concept for Understanding Japanese Personality Structure," Japanese Culture, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1962), p. 133.

[20] Ibid.

> ...in Japanese society parental dependency is fostered, and this behaviour pattern is even institutionalized into its social structure, whereas perhaps the opposite tendency prevails in Western societies....For instance, in marriage a husband does *amaeru* toward his wife, and *vice versa*. It is strongly present in all formal relationships, including those between teacher and student and between doctor and patient. Thus William Cauhill ...spoke of the mutual dependency he encountered in all relationships.[21]

This feeling of *amaeru* is understood readily by the Japanese, while to the Westerner it can be understood only after a painstaking analysis. He also suspects that "in American society that feeling of *amaeru* can be indulged in perhaps only in the religious life, but here also very sparingly."[22] The feeling of *amaeru*, according to Doi, is similar to the deep affection held by Catholics for the Holy Mother. G. A. De Vos, in his article, "Delinquency and Suicide," essentially agrees with Doi when he observes the social reinforcement by the culture of the intense parent-child relationship in Japan while "American culture norms by contrast tend to wean the child from any such psychologically symbolic relationship to a parent."[23] Furthermore, he says:

> The Japanese self concept is not viewed clearly as separate or conterminous with the biological body. The family is traditionally an entity of

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[21] *Ibid*., p. 136.

[22] *Ibid*.

[23] G. A. De Vos, "Delinquency and Suicide," *Japanese Culture*, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1962), p. 164.

> which the individual forms a part. Even though modern values emphasize individual independence, the Japanese feel very strongly that, as John Donne put it, "no man is an island." There is not enough sustenance in individualist existence to make it self-sustaining.[24]

Since World War II, the Japanese have been disillusioned to find that the paramount virtue of chu, that is, loyalty to the emperor, lost significance when the emperor declared that he no longer wished to be considered sacred. With the rapid decline of chu, there was also a decline of ko, that is, of filial piety. In other words, the tradition of repaying one's on, that is, one's spiritual debts to an emperor and to one's parents, was greatly undermined.[25] Doi adds additional insight when he observes that the stress upon the duty of repaying one's on to the emperor and to one's parents regulated the powerful desire of amae. Their desire to amaeru was let loose without the proper object of amae when the Japanese were deprived of that regulating force after the war. Consequently, there developed the moral chaos of present day Japan without the proper object to which to do amaeru. As a result, many Japanese are in the state of amanzuru, the state of mind in which one acquiesces to whatever circumstances one happens to be in. This is in fact nihilism, or even materialism. Others are in the state of suneru which "describes the behavior of a child or an adult who pouts and sulks because he feels he is not allowed to amaeru as much as he wants to."[26] Kagawa appears to say to these people that these phenomena of suneru are the result of misdirected amae to lesser than the "redemptive love" manifested in Jesus Christ. Still others are in the state of higamu, a term describing the behaviour of a child or an adult who feels himself unfairly treated compared to others who are more favored because in that state he does not understand the truth of redemptive love which teaches the sacrifice of oneself for the least of all.[27]

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., p. 137.

Kagawa's view of shazai or apology to the Heavenly Father as the elder brother with distinct consciousness of rentai-sekinin-ishiki, sacrificing Himself as a penal substitution of sinful brothers, is the distinct outcome of the expressing of sumanai. Jesus, it is evident, sacrificed Himself as though He had sinned against His fellowman. The uttermost significance was that Jesus' feeling of sumanai was not the outcome of his own toraware, or sense of guilt for his own weakness. Rather, he was the purest manifestation of redemptive love. Yet his rentai-sekinin-ishiki compelled him to die on behalf of his brothers. Doing so, Christ removed everyone's kodawari or feeling that one is not accepted by the Heavenly Father. Thus, through the redemptive apology of Christ, everyone can be translated from the state of kodawari to the state of amae in God. Amae is no longer directed to emperor or parents but it is the full realization of selfhood in a vital relatedness and sense of dependence upon the perfect and concrete object; the Heavenly Father.

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[26] Doi, op. cit., p. 134.

[27] Ibid.

Kagawa 's view of apology, therefore, based upon a proper understanding of his own people and their personal structure, is meaningful for the Japanese mind. Indeed, the priority of relatedness, or belonging to the family, must not be minimized in an understanding of the Oriental personality. The individual finds his final and full meaning in relation to his family. Accepting Jesus Christ, the Elder Brother, and joining the family of the Heavenly Father, is the meaning of redemption which brings forgiveness of sins through the apology of Jesus, and new life through Him. Thus, for Kagawa, social solidarity is the significant thought in the understanding of salvation.

Result of Redemption. When one turns to Galatians 3:13 (KJV) he finds that the Apostle Paul writes, concerning man's redemption: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree:" In the Greek text this is a compound word; it is the word one finds in Revelation 5:9, "to purchase," but to that word the preposition ek, or "out of" is added. This preposition points to the result of redemption, the result of the sacrifice made by Christ.[28] When one is purchased from the curse of the law and bondage to sin, he is purchased so completely and effectively that he can hardly return to the past sinful life.

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[28] Cf. Joseph H. Thayer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, 4th ed., (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905), p. 189.

Thus, the idea of redemption in Kagawa finds both the stress of a price paid which is an essential feature of the redemption, and of the result, the deliverance or release which is secured by the payment. This is particularly evident when the redeeming activity of God is described in relation to the individual. The result of redemption, on which so much emphasis is laid especially in the Pauline epistles, is to cleanse men from the guilt and the power of sin, to make effective the knowledge of forgiveness, to deliver from futility and alienation from God, to set men free from servitude to the assumptions and activities of the present world order and to make of the redeemed a kingdom and priests unto God. Thus, the word shokuzai, or "redemption," denotes the objective atonement.in Christ and the results which follow in the lives of believers.[29] It is the sheer unmerited love of God which has been manifested in the suffering and death of Christ.

To Kagawa the crucial point of redemption is the transition from the state that "man was somehow wrong" to new life that "Christ could set him right." This is vividly expressed in his Meditations on the Cross:

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[29] Kagawa, The Apostle Paul as a Man, II, 95.

> When Paul tried to say what was man, and Christ could set him I think just as Paul did. Paul felt that there was something wrong with man, and Christ could set him right. When Paul tried to say what was wrong with man, he used seven parables. Now it was a debtor whose debts must be paid; again a condemned criminal to be reprieved; or a burdened traveler to be relieved; a sick man to be emancipated, or a wandering child to be brought home. Paul did not care which parable you used, or if you used some other. All he cared about was that man was somehow wrong and Christ could set him right.[30]

In this statement, there is in Kagawa's theology a common conviction which is shared by many Christian theologians: namely, that redemption is effected by God in Christ ~~and~~ that it issues in newness of life. While there is some difference of opinion as to how this is effected and what it means, there is virtual unanimity among theologians--Nestorians, Socinians, Arminians or Ritschlians included--that redemption involves God's gracious saving love in Christ for sinful mankind.[31]

If salvation comes by way of divine enabling, this does not mean that man contributes nothing to his own salvation. It is when human life is attuned to God, and only then, that salvation can occur. In affirming God, man also affirms his true selfhood but this is, nonetheless, a genuine self-affirmation rather than a self-negation. It is not the experience of nirvana as in Buddhism. Salvation is God's work utterly apart from all man's latent resources and existing capacities. One's last word must be that man's real freedom comes only by the surrender of all claims to independence.[32] Kagawa declares in his Everlasting Recreation (1951) that "the reconciliation of the infinite with the finite cannot be any other way than love of the Absolute One. Only when the Absolute acts upon the finite is the possibility of salvation born."[33] Although Kagawa is aware of God in Christ who reconciled the world to Himself, reconciliation is accomplished only when man makes himself accessible to the power of God which Christ makes available to man. Hence, salvation is "by faith alone." God not only requires this of man but he enables man to fulfill it through Jesus Christ. Thus the sole means through which this salvation becomes obtainable is the redemptive love in Jesus Christ, the full manifestation of God Himself.

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[30] Kagawa, Meditations on the Cross, trans. by Helen Topping, (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1936), footnote, p. 82.

[31] Kagawa, Human Suffering & Human Architecture, IX, 48.

In short, the outcome of redemption is the new life in Christ. As shinsei or regeneration strikes at the primary fact of existence, its attainment marks a turning-point in man's life. The attainment, however, must be thorough going and clear-cut in order to produce a satisfactory result. To deserve the name of shinsei, the mental revolution must be so complete as to make one feel that there took place a transformation, not mere reformation of life. The intensity of this feeling is proportional to the amount of consciousness the regenerated has put into the achievement. For there is a graduation in one's consciousness from unconsciousness, semi-consciousness to full-consciousness as to its intensity. Regeneration grows out of the full-consciousness as the first principle of life. The mysteries of redemptive love might be latent for the intellect, but a full-conscious soul will respond to the depth of redemptive love. The consciousness is the man himself, and the redemptive love appeals to it. When one becomes penetratingly conscious of the working of this agency, there is the opening of regeneration and the understanding of redemptive love.

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[32] Kagawa, Everlasting Re-creation, IV, 357.

[33] Ibid.

This writer's task has been to interpret redemption and its outcome as it transforms man's life into an entirely new life. Here, this writer needs to focus his attention to his understanding of religious epistemology. What type of knowledge is his meiso?

II. RELIGIOUS EPISTEMOLOGY

Here Kagawa's interpretation of religious knowledge will be analyzed so that his readers may understand what is meant to receive shinsei through shokuzaiai in Jesus Christ. First of all, Kagawa carefully distinguishes his meiso from Zen Buddhism's satori experience. As the attainment of the salvation does not involve a continuous movement from error to truth, from ignorance to enlightenment, Kagawa problaims that there is no enlightenment whatever which one can claim to have attained. While Zen teachers claim that satori, which is defined as "an intuitive looking into the nature of things in contradiction to the analytical or logical understanding of it,"[34] is both quietistic and the result of self-effort, Kagawa's *meiso* is activity of mind which "begins with self-effort, but doing so, obtains outside help."[35] To be sure, the process of *meiso* is an abrupt leap, logical and psychological, in the Christian experience.[36] It appears that the ordinary process of reasoning stops short, and what has been onsidered irrational is perceived to be perfectly natural while the psychological leap is that the borders of consciousness are overstepped and one is plunged into the seemingly unconscious state. This process is discrete, abrupt, and altogether beyond calculation. The teaching of an abrupt happening of salvation is then fundamental in the writings of Kagawa.

Three Types of Logic: In the fourth chapter of *The Apostle Paul As a Man* (1922), Kagawa distinguishes three types of logic: *ronri* or logic; *hironri* or anti-logic; and *choronri* or supra-logic.[37] It is a profound aid in Kagawa's epistemology to make these distinctions.

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[34] William Barrett, *Zen Buddhism; Selected Writings of D. T. Suzuki*, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1956), p. 84.

[35] Kagawa, *Watashino Jinseikan*, (*My Philosophy of Life*), (Tokyo: Goto Shoin, 1955), p. 106.

[36] Kagawa, *Meditations on the Holy Spirit*, III, 295

[37] Kagawa, *The Apostle Paul as a Man* II, 63-82

First, ronri is defined as "the science of the laws of thought,"[38] whose central problem is to make a distinction between correct and incorrect reasoning. Arguments are traditionally divided into two different types, deductive and inductive. The former is an inference in which a conclusion follows necessarily from one or more given premises. It is an analytical reasoning from general to particular or less general.[39] The latter is to bring into the field of attention a number of observed particular facts as the ground for a general assertion. If the religious truths were held as a given norm within a religion, the task of ronri is that of judging how to apply the truths to new situations. On the contrary, if a truth were merely a product of psychological and sociological factors, and consequently, if they change as personal wants and social customs change, then the natural method to employ will be primarily inductive.

Secondly, there is the law of thought, hironri, or anti-logic, which is explained as a logic of human desire. In this, human will becomes prominent.[40] For example, natural law declares that "you shall surely die." Hironri expresses its logic: "nevertheless I should like to escape death."[41] This hironri is formulated upon the conviction that outside the law of nature which is deterministic, there is a law of free will. There are numerous indications that the Apostle Paul's thought is formulated by his desire for faith with the free exercise of his will. Christian faith does not derive from logic which is necessarily binded by the deterministic law of nature, but is a faith which has its genetic origin in man's free will. This type of thought is named yokkyu no ronri, or logic of desire, which may be translated more properly as anti-logic or a paradoxical law of thought.

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[38] Irving M. Copi, Introduction to Logic, 2nd ed., (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961), p. 4.

[39] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 64.

[40] Ibid.

Thirdly, there is choronri or supra-logic which is concerned with the phenomena of life itself. It deals with man's intuitive knowledge of God's existence. It was exactly by this supra-logic, for example, that the Apostle Paul ascended into the third heaven. If man's life is limited by the experience of phenomena, this Pauline experience was utterly beyond comprehension. For Kagawa, most authentic religious knowledge is nothing but the knowledge of choronri, and the other two types of thought merely assist this crucial thought form. This knowledge is a real religious intuition and consequently, beyond logical comprehension and beyond the human possession of symbolism. It normally applies to various forms of allegory, as one sees in the Gospels. It is presented as a certain predicate but without sufficient language which can properly deliver its meaning except in one's personal understanding of his own through meiso and prayer.[42]

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[41] Ibid.

This writer will consider the choronri exclusively because it is the principle law of thought in Kagawa's religious epistemology. Choronri is also termed as meiso. Unlike Zen Buddhism's satori, Kagawa's meiso is not the art of pacifing the mind in that one's inner essence may transcend his will and be separated from his body. It is an act, a revolutionary deed, on the part of human understanding whose functions have been supposed all the time to be logically analyzing ideas derived from their dynamic significance. The "seeing," especially, in Kagawa's sense, was far more than a passive deed of looking at, a mere knowledge obtained from contemplating the purity of self and the awareness of self. This implies that meiso has nothing to do with mere sitting in meditation. It is not quietism. It is rather acting, moving, performing deeds, seeing, hearing, thinking, remembering. To be sure, meiso is the state of mind in which the full consciousness of the Holy Spirit is felt.[43]

In satori it is not easy to go further than the pacification of the mind. Satori is so apt to stop short at the stage of quiet contemplation. At best, it ends in ecstasy, self-absorption, a temporary suspension of consciousness. There is no "seeing" in it, no knowing of itself, no active grasping of the nature of the self. This quietistic and purity gazing type of meditation was probably one aspect of Kagawa's meiso. Nevertheless, he rightly perceived the danger of quietism and cautioned his readers to avoid it by all means. In this light, students of Kagawa understand why he insists on the importance of the Holy Spirit in meiso experience. The work of the Holy Spirit is the power to penetrate into the nature of one's being as well as the truth itself thus intuited. Meiso is not the art of pacifing the mind so that its inner essence, pure and undefiled, may be separated from the body. His meiso is not the outcome of dualistically conceiving the mind. One-sided meiso is sure to tend toward quietism and death as has abundantly been exemplified in the history of Buddhism. For this reason, Kagawa cannot treat meiso apart from the work of the Holy Spirit.[44]

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[42] In his kaisetsu or commentary on Kagawa's The Apostle Paul as a Man, Tomio Muto gives his interpretation; saying: "ronri is philosophical; hironri is theological and choronri is pietistic part of human understanding."

[43] Kagawa, Meditations on the Holy Spirit, III, 323.

Kagawa's meiso is often misunderstood by many, but a careful study of his many writings may safely indicate the following points as its major characteristics.

Irrational Experience. By irrational experience Kagawa means that shinsei or regeneration is not a conclusion to be reached by ronri, and it defies all intellectual expression. Those who have experienced it are always at a loss to explain it coherently or logically. When it is explained at all in acts or in words, its content more or less undergoes a mutilation. The unregenerated are thus unable to grasp it by what is outwardly visible while those who have had the experience discern what is genuine from what is not. The religious experience is thus always characterized by irrationality, inexplicability, and incommunicability. There is nothing sufficiently suggestive of cool reasoning and quiet metaphysical or epistemological analysis. It implies a certain full consciousness to break through an insurmountable barrier of the consciousness impelled by the divine power behind it. Therefore, the outcome also defies intellection or conceptualization.[45]

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[44] Kagawa, Re-thinking Oriental Philosophy XIII, 115.

Intuitive Insight. Secondly, meiso is an intuitive insight. That there is a noetic quality in mystic experiences has been pointed out by William James in his Varieties of Religious Experience.[46] Kagawa's meiso also finds it as an essential part of religious experience.[47] Meiso is, to be sure, in "seeing" or "perceiving" in redemptive love.[48] That this seeing is of quite a different quality from what is ordinarily designated as knowledge need not be specifically noticed. Without this noetic quality, meiso will lose all its pungency for it is really the reason of regeneration itself. It is noteworthy that the knowledge contained in the experience of regeneration is concerned with the Divine and, at the same time, with the individual existence of the person. The regeneration points to the One beyond himself who is the source of redemptive love. Meiso is man's function of knowledge which alone directs to shinsei or regeneration and also, that of the Redeemer who is at the back of it.[49]

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[45] Kagawa, The Religion of Jesus, I, 174.

[46] William James, Varieties of Religious Experience, (New York: Random House, 1902), p. 371.

[47] Kagawa, My Philosophy of Life, p. 156.

[48] Ibid., p. 158.

An Authoritativeness. Thirdly, authoritativeness is another characteristic of meiso experience. By this Kagawa means that the knowledge realized by regeneration is final and that no amount of theological argument can refute it. Being direct and personal, it is sufficient unto itself. All that theology can do here is to explain it and to interpret it in connection with other kinds of knowledge with which one's mind is filled. Meiso is thus a form of perception, and inner perception, which takes place in the most interior part of consciousness.[50] Hence, the sense of authoritativeness means finality. The regenerative perception is the last term of experience; it cannot be refuted by outsiders who have no such experience.[51]

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[49] Kagawa, Meditations on the Holy Spirit III, 333.

[50] Kagawa, ibid., p. 310.

[51] Shotaro Honda, "Fujinyutsuboo Jittkosuru," Kagawa by the One Hundred and Three, (Tokyo: Kirisuto Shinbunsha, 1961), p. 447.

Affirmation. Fourthly, there is affirmation. What is authoritative and final can never be negative.[52] For negation has no value for one's life; it leads him nowhere. Negation for Kagawa was an exact evil of the world.[53] Although the regeneration is sometimes expressed in negative terms, it is essentially an affirmative attitude toward all things that exist. It accepts them as they come along regardless of their moral values, and transforms them into the new qualities through radically new insight of life in Christ.

Sense of the Beyond. Fifthly, there is a sense of the Beyond in meiso. Kagawa describes it:

> When we search into our selfhood, there we shall find some power upon which our selves are founded. As though underground water, there is something which is overflowing within us....Within our own lives, we sense that the great Life is looking in. Within us, there is a part which we cannot control ourselves...[54]

This experience indeed is one's own but it has the feeling of being rooted elsewhere. The individual shell in which one's personality is so solidly encased is released at the moment of meiso. Not that one gets unified with, or absorbed in, a being greater than himself but that his individuality becomes loosened somehow from its tightening grip and melts away into something quite different and indescribable to which he is unaccustomed. The feeling that follows is that of a complete release or rest--the feeling that one has arrived finally at his destination. The story of the Prodigal Son in the New Testament points to the feeling one has at the moment of a meiso experience.[55]

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[52] Kagawa, My Philosphy of Life, p. 164.

[53] Cf. chapter II "Problem of Evil, in the Book of Job" Attitude Toward Affliction, Zenshu II pp. 122-132, for detailed discussion on the subject.

[54] Kagawa, The Apostle Paul as a Man II, 84.

There is no doubt that, in Kagawa's entire works, the source of this experience is attributed to the Person of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, the appearance of the Holy Spirit contradicts everything that man may conceive of things worldly; it is altogether of another order than man's usual life. This does not mean that the Holy Spirit is of another order completely disconnected from man and which would become meaningful only by a miracle from some unknown and unknowable source.[56] It is true that the functioning of the Holy Spirit is discrete and interrupting to the progress of logical reasoning, but all the time it underlies logical reasoning. Without the Holy Spirit man cannot have any reasoning whatever.[57] The Holy Spirit is at once above and in the process of reasoning. This is a contradiction, formally considered, but in truth this contradiction itself is made possible because of the Holy Spirit.

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[55] Kagawa, My Philosophy of Life, p. 137.

[56] Kagawa, Meditations on the Holy Spirit, III, 324.

[57] Ibid., p. 296.

Feeling of Exaltation. Sixthly, there is the feeling of exaltation. That this feeling inevitably accompanies regeneration is due to the fact that it is the breaking up of the restriction imposed on one as an individual being, and this breaking up is not a mere negative incident but quite a positive one fraught with significance because it means an unlimited expansion of the individual experiencing of religious truth. Although man is not always conscious of it, the general feeling which characterizes all his functions of consciousness itself is the outcome of two forces conditioning or restricting each other. Regeneration, on the contrary, essentially consists in doing away with the opposition of the two terms. "The spirit which Christ experienced was love and joy." "It was a conviction that they came from heaven."[58]

Personal Note. Seventhly, perhaps, the most remarkable aspect of the Christian experience is that it has a distinct personal note in it which is not observable in Buddhist mystic experiences. There is full reference in Christian redemption to such personal feelings and relationships as are to be gleaned from these terms: love, joy, hope, communion, etc. Is this due to the peculiar character of Christian philosophy? Does the experience itself take its colors from philosophy or theology? Whatever this is, there is no doubt that in spite of its having some points of similarity to the Buddhist mystic experience, the Christian experience of Toyohiko Kagawa is singularly full of personal or human colorings.[59] The poem Kagawa composed depicts this aspect of the redemptive love:

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[58] Ibid., p. 299.

> Take Thou the burden, Lord;
> I am exhausted with this heavy load.
> My tired hands tremble,
> And I stumble, stumble
> Along the way.
> Oh, lead with Thine unfailing arm
> Again today.[60]

Here in this poetic expression of his longing for shokuzaiai, Kagawa, as "I", can address God, as "Thou," in the second person singular, with full awareness of his selfhood.

Those who have done careful reading in Kagawa's religious writings, particularly Western readers, are often suspicious of his philosophy concerning the personal nature of any religious experience. These readers often confuse the pantheistic expression of the religious experience by negating the distinction of "I" from encountering the object of "Thou," and assume that Kagawa is turning to the "Atman is Brahman" experience. This writer will attempt here, however, to interpret epistemologically how Kagawa's subjective religious experience is different from self-enlightenment with a pantheistic rootage. For this writer, this defence is of supreme importance in Kagawa's theology.

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[59] Kagawa, My Philosophy of Life, p. 151.

[60] Kagawa, Songs From The Slums, (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, p. 89.

III. TWO ELEMENTS IN RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

Man has in every sensation two distinct terms, "consciousness" in respect of which all sensations are alike; and "something else," in respect of which one sensation differs from another. It will be convenient if one may be allowed to call this second term the "object" of a sensation. Man has in every sensation these two distinct elements, one of which one calls consciousness and another which he calls the object of consciousness. This must be so if the sensation of blue and the sensation of green, though different in one respect, are alike in another: (1) blue is one object of sensation and (2) green is another, and (3) consciousness, which both sensations have in common, is different from either. Further, sometimes the awareness of God exists in one's mind and sometimes it does not; and knowing, as Kagawa does, that the sensation or awareness of God includes two different elements, namely consciousness and God, the question arises whether, when the sensation of God exists, it is the consciousness which exists, or God which exists, or both. And one point, at least, is plain that these three alternatives are all different from one another. So that, if any one tells Kagawa that to say "God exists" is the same thing as to say that "both God and consciousness exist," he makes a mistake, a self-contradictory mistake.

But another point is also plain, namely, that when the awareness exists, the consciousness, at least, certainly does exist. When Kagawa says that the awareness of God and of society both exist, he certainly means that what is common to both and in virtue of which both are called awareness, exist in each case. The only alternative left, then, is that either both exist or the consciousness exists alone. If, therefore, anyone tells Kagawa that the existence of God is the same thing as the existence of awareness of God, he makes a mistake, for he asserts either that God is the same thing as God together with consciousness, or that God is the same thing as consciousness alone.

Accordingly, to identify either God or any other of what Kagawa has called "objects" of awareness, with the corresponding awareness is in every case, a self-contradictory error. It is to identify a part either with the whole of which it is a part, or else with the other part of the same whole. If man is told that the assertion "God exists" is meaningless unless he means by it that "the awareness of God exists," he is told what is certainly false and self-contradictory. If man is told that the existence of God is inconceivable apart from the existence of awareness, the speaker probably means to convey to him what is a self-contradictory error. For he can and must conceive the existence of God as something quite distinct from the existence of the awareness. One can and must conceive that God might exist and yet the awareness of God does not exist. For Kagawa's own part, he not only conceived this but conceived it to be true. Either, therefore, this assertion of inconceivability means what is false and self-contradictory or else it means only that, as a matter of fact, God never can exist unless the awareness of Him exists also.

At this point, this writer need not conceal his judgment that Kagawa has not succeeded in avoiding this tendency. For the most striking results of Kagawa's theological idealism is only obtained by identifying God with the awareness of God: that esse is held to be percipi, solely because what is experienced is held to be identical with the experience of it. However, there is an abundance of Kagawa's statements which convince anyone that his idealism did not destroy his affirmation of God Who becomes real only in "I-Thou" relationship.

The point Kagawa had established so far, in the opinion of this writer, is that in every awareness or idea he must distinguish two elements, the "object" and "consciousness." It follows that when an awareness or idea exists, one has to choose between the alternatives that either object alone, or consciousness alone, or both, exist. The object alone is excluded by the fact that what one means to assert is certainly the existence of a mental fact. There remains the question: Do both exist? Or, does the consciousness alone exist? And to these questions Kagawa's consistent answer was given that both exist. Thus, theologically speaking, Kagawa escaped from pantheism, establishing an epistemological dualism.

This anwere follows from the analysis hitherto accepted of the relation of what this writer has called "object" to "consciousness" in any awareness or idea. It is held that what this writer calls the object is merely "content" of an awareness. It is held that, in each case, one can distinguish two elements and two only: the fact that there is feeling or experience and what is felt or experienced. The awareness from a whole in which one must distinguish two inseparable aspects, "content" and "experience."

There is a sense in which God might properly be said to be the content of the awareness, namely, the sense in which "content," is opposed to "substance." One has it, then, as a universally received opinion that God is related to the awareness of God as its content, and that this view must mean that God is what is said to exist when one says that the awareness exists. God is not experienced as mere "content" without personal substance but as a whole of what is said to exist. To say that the awareness exists is, for Kagawa, to say both God exists and that "consciousness" exists, too. Any awareness is a realistic occurrence and what Kagawa has called its object is the quality of this occurrence.

CHAPTER VI

REDEMPTION OF SOCIETY

I. IDEA OF INCARNATION

Kagawa asks: Has man two antithetical worlds, with no bridge between them? Is there on the one hand a "religious" world represented by the churches, and on the other, a world that is unapologetically secular? Or is there a unity of vision here that sees no breakdown between the true worship of God and a profound sense of wonder at all the phenomena of life, that is not embarrassed over joy in the human form? Generally speaking, the church finds herself with "a parallel tendency toward what may be called anti-aestheticism."[1] The discussion about theology and life as art can go on only if the answer to this question is "Yes." For, if the answer is "No," then Kagawa would have done well to forget this issue and concentrate on his mission of preaching.

Nevertheless, Kagawa believes in the aesthetic value of life because he has faith in three great doctrines: Creation, Incarnation, and Resurrection. In all of these, God attests to the profound legitimacy of the human being in the flesh. Kagawa does not see it to be his calling to cancel the earthly in the name of the eternal. This is not what the Church has understood its task to be. The aesthetic value of human life is not autonomous in its true sense but it does have deep spiritual and moral implications. Those who know God through his Son who is altogether lovely, must be concerned that life viewed as art has integrity. To be sure, the God in whom Kagawa believed is the God of truth as well as beauty. According to the Gospel of John, "He that doeth truth cometh to the light." (John 3:21 KJV) Aesthetically, this great principle is just as valid as it is in practical living. Aesthetic expressions which distort the truth are no more pleasing to God than any other kind of untruth. Surely, it is not too much to say that the God of all truth looks for integrity in aesthetic expression as well as in theology.

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[1] Frank E. Gaebelein, "The Aesthetic Problem: Some Evangelical Answers," Christianity Today, IX (September, 1965), p. 543.

The Athanasian Creed speaks of the Incarnation as "not by the transformation of his divinity into flesh, but by the taking up of his humanity into God."[2] It seems to this writer that there must be an understanding of human experience of beauty, ambiguity and tragedy, and transfiguration of this experience into forms that speak of the eternal. Kagawa is one who has been confronted by these three things: beauty, ambiguity and tragedy. He could not repel this confrontation any more than he could deny his own being. And so, he is forced to come to terms with it by his interpretation of creation. His life-long effort was to exorcise the demons in human experience; to shape into form the chaos of beauty, ambiguity and tragedy that he sensed. It might have been possible for him to have had a temporary cessation of activity. However, who will insist that the whole life-long agony of creation was not God's way of bringing it to Himself?

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[2] J. N. D. Kelly, The Athanasian Creed (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), p. 20.

Perhaps, here is one difference between Kagawa and other Japanese theologians. He finds himself, in his own peculiar way, grappling with the problems of his time. He knows that in order to be true to his own being, he must make an effort to resolve the heavy tensions present in the world. He, therefore, made a profound study of the individual and social injustices of his day. Moreover, Kagawa is keenly aware of ambiguity. One does not have to look far to find it. He often speaks of the dreadful breakdown between aspiration and fulfillment which every human being experiences. Or again, he talks of radical limitations imposed on half the human race--blindness, insanity, poverty, injustice, paralysis and of the awful hiatus between appearance and what one suspects to be reality. All of these things must be considered by theology, but when one has sought answers concerning them, they still make him cry out in anguish. It is with this anguish that Kagawa wrestles. He must begin by being haunted, perplexed, astonished and tormented by life. He must insist on struggling with these things that plague all men, and which many Christians try to meet by evasion, platitudes and neuroses.

In short, Toyohiko Kagawa preached no Kingdom of God in some distant and shadowy hereafter but the Kingdom of God upon earth to be brought in by the practice of cooperative brotherhood. And his method of teaching is as practical as is his message. Believing cooperatives to be the best expression of the Kingdom of God, he goes directly to the heart of the problem and shows men how to form cooperatives and how to lift themselves out of intolerable conditions. In the article entitled, "The New Crusade," Bertram B. Fowler writes:

> So today the comet of Toyohiko Kagawa's gospel of economic Christianity is blazing across the heavens. Those who know of him and his teachings have accepted him as the great Christian leader of the age. For, following generations of preachers who taught a philosophy of ethics that creaked and groaned as it was bent and twisted to fit an unethical system of economics, this man has come with his flaming gospel of a theology that is practical and applicable to modern problems.[3]

To Kagawa, the secularization of the sacred must be done in a concrete manner, and it took three major expressions in his earlier years of ministry; namely, problems of poverty, labor and agriculture.

The Problem of Poverty in the Slums. When Kagawa finished his studies in Kobe Theological Seminary, he turned his back on the pleasant dormitory where he might have lived and moved down into the Shinkawa slums of Kobe. There he lived in a little room six by six, surrounded by poverty, misery and degradation in its vilest and most horrible forms. From the early days of his ministry in the slums, he gave his energies to a threefold task: First, to help the needy, the physically weak and wounded. To this end, Kagawa opened a free medical clinic. Second, to educate the slum boys and girls. He began, therefore, to teach arithmetic and algebra for two hours in the morning, beginning at five o'clock, and again from seven to eight in the evening. Third, to preach. At eight o'clock, after the evening classes, he would go out with the students for street preaching.[4] The deeper Kagawa probed into the plight of the poor, the criminals and the loiterers, the more he realized the cure of social ills in Japan demanded social science as well as religion. Accordingly, in 1915, he went to study in America for three years. Already he had read widely in many areas, but he needed a period "in Arabia" to study still more and to probe into the root of things.[5]

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[3] Bertram B. Fowler, "The New Crusade: Kagawa Preaches Economic Salvation," The Forum XCV (January, 1936), 17-21.

The outcome of his studies, as well as his own experience in Shinkawa, was his conviction that "poor people" and the "proletariat" are essentially different.[6] The majority of the really poor are bankrupt in character, often physically deformed or disabled, and of a low mental grade. The proletariat, on the other hand, "is not made up of bankrupts, in character, mind or in body. It is the best of the labouring class. The only trouble is that the members are uncertain as to livelihood, dependent in occupations, socially without credit and standing alone."[7] The former needs charity, but the latter are the result of social evil and need some special attention.

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[4] Muriel Kent, "Toyohiko Kagawa," The Hibbert Journal, XXVIII (July, 1930) 725.

[5] Galen M. Fisher, "Kagawa and Co-operative Societies as an Economic Panacea," International Review of Missions, XXVII (October, 1938), p. 444.

[6] Mikio Sumiya, Kagawa Toyohiko (Tokyo: Nippon Kirisuto Kyodan Shuppanbu, 1966), p. 37.

For many years he worked to bring new life to the slums of Shinkawa. He quit only when he saw the hopelessness of his struggle. His aim was "reclaiming men to self-respect and a fuller life."[8] But he painfully found that "one individual working for individuals cannot change society."[9]

The Problem of Labor. When he saw the hopelessness of his struggle, he altered his tactics and broadened his work. He spent two years at Princeton University and Princeton Theological Seminary completing his education and studying labor organizations and social work. Before returning to Japan he worked as the secretary of the Japanese American Society in Ogden, Utah, where he learned much about the social movement. He threw himself into the organization of Japanese labor. When Kagawa returned to Kobe, it was not to resume the Saint Francis' role. The slums, he had discovered, needed more than the presence of saints.[10] Cho explains the first motivation of Kagawa's effort to organize what is known as the free union movement as follows:

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[7] Kagawa, *Love, the Law of Life* VII, 167.

[8] Kent, *op. cit.*, p. 722.

[9] Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

> Kagawa stood on the street watching this impressive demonstration with damp eyes. He was deeply moved. He had been wondering whether he could solve the problems of the poor and the unemployed by social work only. In America he observed several institutes of social work and settlement houses but he had no conviction that the problems of the slums in Shinkawa could be solved only by the systematization of his social work. The proletariat must organize themselves. It is necessary to free themselves through organization. He thought that he should start his task with labor unions when he returned to Japan.[11]

The second motivation is explained as follows:

> He could not secure skilled workers...This experience convinced him of the necessity of laborers' education and training, and at the same time, he was persuaded that a movement by laborers themselves was the true way to save them.[12]

Thirdly,

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[10] Paul Hutchinson, "Kagawa: Proletarian Saint," The Atlantic Monthly, CLVII (May, 1936), 596.

[11] Kiyoko T. Cho, "An Essay on Kagawa Toyohiko," Asian Cultural Study (1960), p. 12.

[12] Ibid., p. 15.

> ...in 1918 there was a great movement of rice riots all over Japan....The riots were put down by the military and police forces. Looking at this riot, Kagawa acutely felt the necessity of orderly organized action by the proletariat.[13]

In the first great shipyard strikes at Kobe, and in the rice riots, Kagawa emerged as the proletarian leader and hero. Nevertheless, eventually the pacifist strain in the New Testament had begun to make definite trouble for Kagawa's position as a labor leader. Japanese labor, partly influenced by the Russian Revolution and even more by a realistic appreciation of the power of its opponents, was turning definitely toward industrial war. Kagawa became increasingly concerned to avoid violence. Inevitably, there was a split, which, while never openly acknowledged, made Kagawa more of a patron saint than an active participant in the Japanese labor movement.

The Problem of Farmers. Deserted by his labor following but as keenly alive as ever to Japan's need for social reconstruction, Kagawa turned from the factory centers to the country and the seacoast villages. The plight of the farmers and fishermen grew heavy on him. Also these people migrated to the cities and became slum residents. Seeking a means of securing some measure of economic security for these exploited groups but determined that this should not entail any resort to violence, Kagawa came upon the story of the Rochdale weavers and their British cooperative movement. The account of the Raiffeisen credit-union movement in Germany also gripped his imagination. The report of Bishop Grundtvig and the cooperative movement which has grown out of his People's School in Denmark fitted easily into the same picture of a transformed rural Japan that he had begun to see.[14]

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[13] *Ibid*.

However, Kagawa's involvements in slum, labor and farm movements, although they alone would have been a monumental life work for any single man, were but the beginning. For, in his work he saw something beyond all this. He began to perceive a goal toward which he steadily progressed. He founded consumer cooperation. In it he saw not merely economic democracy. To him, it was economic Christianity. He perceived the intrinsic and necessary unity of all phases of man's activities and knowledge, for men's lives were based on certain ethical values--brotherhood, liberty, equality. Therefore, to be sound and enduring, all the rules and methods of business and politics, which are aesthetic expressions of the spiritual aspects of life, must not violate the underlying ethical-spiritual foundation of true Christianity.

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[14] The Rochdale weaver's cooperative movement was founded by Robert Owen at Rochdale in 1844, and gives an excellent expression of love, or mutual aid, by educating and deepening the culture of its members. The Raiffeisen credit-union movement in Germany was founded in 1854 by Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen whose aim was not commercial profit, but to strengthen the economically weak and to promote the spiritual and moral welfare of the members of the society. Bishop Grundtvig was a Danish reformer who established the People's School in Denmark to promote patriotism and the restoration of agriculture when Denmark was destroyed by World War I.

Kagawa did not preach an intangible outline of a possible Utopia. He threw himself into the building of cooperatives just as he had thrown himself into the organization of farmers and laborers. He fostered and developed cooperatives of all kinds. Although it would be untrue to speak of Kagawa as the founder of the cooperative movement in Japan, it is beyond debate that his driving energy has transformed that movement into one of the most powerful economic and social forces in Japan.

In his campaign, seven kinds of cooperatives were developed. Of these, the consumers', producers', credit union, insurance, health and public utility cooperatives are functioning. The international marketing cooperative was developed into the idea of world federal government which became one of the major concerns of his later life.[15] He continued to campaign all over Japan, preaching what he conceived to be the Christian gospel as no other evangelist has ever preached it there, and organizing cooperatives as the means of securing a social order in which Christian ideals may be practiced in daily life. In the following section, this writer shall then expound how Kagawa understood the cooperative movement or mutual aid.

II. COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Cooperative, the Christian Economic Law. This is love embodied in economics. In one address Kagawa declared:

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[15] Kagawa, Shin Kyodo Kumiai Yoron, XI, 484.

> The Protestant Church is too individualistic. The Eastern Church sinks into individualistic mysticism and has nothing to do with society and dies out as in Russia. In contrast, the Church of the West, all through its history, was prosperous when the brotherhood movement flourished....If we realize love through economic methods the world will know that Christ is here.[16]

Kagawa says that mutual aid or the brotherhood movement has its foundation in the Bible and church history. In his address in China, he states:

> Although Jesus Christ gave his disciples the new commandment to love one another, they and their successors sometimes forgot the necessity for brotherly love. We, too, are much inclined to emphasize exclusively the individualistic side of religion...Our faith is not in a God who inspires terror in us but in the love of God. And so, we must realize this love of God in our social life.[17]

Kagawa taught that "the moment one starts out to realize the love of God in human society, one runs counter to some existing political fabric based on selfishness."[18] Christ, however, prepared mankind for such a contingency in His Sermon on the Mount in which He told of the need of all men to love their brothers.

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[16] Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 628.

[17] Toyohiko Kagawa, "The Economic Foundation of World Peace," *Friends of Jesus* V (August, 1932), p. 5.

[18] *Ibid.*

Then, Kagawa discusses in some detail how this brotherhood movement has endured in the long history of mankind beginning with the Apostle Paul, Clement of Alexandria, Saint Martin, Ambrose of Milan, Saint Bernard, the Crusaders of the Middle Ages, Francis of Assisi, Christians who organized a society called the Brotherhood of Common Life, Moravians and the Wesley brothers.[19] Then, he says:

> Thus from the beginning of the work of St. Paul down to the Twentieth Century, there are continually recurring traces of the Brotherhood Movement in the Christian churches. But as yet, unfortunately, we have forgotten to preach it in Japan, in China, and in some parts of America. We need to revive this Brotherhood Movement.[20]

Kagawa also found the Scriptural foundation for this in Acts 20:34-35 (KJV):

> Yea, ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities and to them that were with me. I have showed you all things how that so laboring ye ought to support the weak and remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.

In the Pauline statement that to give is better than to receive, Kagawa found the principle of the mutual aid societies. These mutual aid societies are the historical result of the working of Jesus Christ.

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[19] Ibid., pp. 6-9.

[20] Ibid., p. 9.

It is the objective spirit of the Christian community in its becoming and being that is the spirit of the true church of Christ, the *sanctorum communio*, which bears the historical ministry of Jesus Christ and the social activity of the Holy Spirit.

Nevertheless, without reconstruction in the inner man, society cannot be saved. "It is for that reason," says Kagawa, "that while I am devoting myself to the Labour Movement, I am also zealous in the cause of religion."[21] It seems that Kagawa understood that any Christian experience is primarily personal. He believes Billy Sunday was responsible for 230,000 converts through his evangelistic effort. However, the real nurtured life comes only after the conversion experience.[22] "It must be achieved one by one."[23]

Is Kagawa, then, advocating personal conversion exclusive of any social implication? Here is the clear answer from Kagawa's own pen:

> There are two major movements concerning the religion of Christ. One is to understand it mystically and individually. The other is to regard it socially and forget the mystical element. Both are wrong. Religion is a mystical truth, to be sure, but we cannot think simply of the mystical element, or the social implication in isolation. In America, people stress

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[21] Kagawa, *Religion of Jesus*, I, 149.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

[23] *Ibid.*

> the social application and tend to forget feeling the eternal quality of the soul, while in the Orient, people forget the social application of religion.[24]

Thus, Kagawa points to personal experience inwardly but it necessarily demands its expression in social implications without which he could hardly understand the teachings of Jesus. In fact, it is the only way to perfect one's life for

> Our personalities are extremely imperfect. So one who possesses half a personality had better get together the other half. It is impossible for one individual to do everything alone... We...are imperfect, and so we must combine our good points and help one another.[25]

The Parent Cooperative Society. The best economic expression of love or mutual aid is found in the societies patterned after the parent cooperative society created by an initial effort of Robert Owen (1771-1858), a self-made factory owner, who had attracted wide attention by measures which he had taken to improve conditions, educational and otherwise, of the child workers in his mills. It was both as mill owner and as reformer that he became interested in the depression which followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars. In his "Report to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and

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[24] Kagawa, *Meditations about Christ* III, 235.

[25] Kagawa, *Religion of Jesus*, I, 168.

Labouring Poor" (1817), Owen states:

> The immediate cause of the present distress is the depreciation of human labour. This has been occasioned by the general introduction of mechanism into the manufactures of Europe and America....The first effects of these new mechanical combinations were to increase individual wealth and to give a new stimulus to further inventions.[26]

In his Report to the County of Lanark (1820), Owen indicates:

> ...the deficiency of employment for the working classes cannot proceed from a want of wealth or capital...but from some defect in the mode of distributing this extraordinary addition of new capital throughout society, or, to speak commercially, from the want of a market, or means of exchange co-extensive with the means of production. Were effective measures devised to facilitate the distribution of wealth after it was created, your reporter could have no difficulty in suggesting the means of beneficial occupation for all who are unemployed and for a considerable increase to their number.[27]
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> It is the want of a profitable market that alone checks the successful and otherwise beneficial industry of the working classes. The markets of the world are created solely by the remuneration allowed for the industry of the working classes, and those markets are more or less extended and profitable in proportion as these classes are well or ill remunerated for their

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[26] Robert Owen, Report to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor (Everyman's Library, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1927), p. 156, 157.

[27] Robert Owen, Report to the County of Lanark (A New View of Society and Other Writings, New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1927), p. 248.

> labour. But the existing arrangements of society will not permit the labourer to be remunerated for his industry, and in consequence, all markets fail.[28]

Owen's remedy, stated in his Report to the County of Lanark, was the formation of cooperative and self-supporting communities in which the production and distribution of goods would be brought close together, avoiding any difficulty arising through lack of markets. The recurring depressions led Owen to think that this was caused by a relative imbalance between productive power and purchasing power.

In 1844, the first consumer cooperative was started by twenty-eight weavers in Rochdale, about fourteen miles north of Manchester, England. From that beginning, there has grown a great organization providing a substantial part of the goods consumed by the British people, with not only retail stores but wholesale organizations and factories in which the goods are produced. The great strength of the Rochdale Movement was in the union it succeeded in effecting between manual laborers and the educated leadership of the Christian Socialists.[29] There were here such men as Kingsley, Ludlow, Church, Ruskin and Maurice.

These twenty-eight weavers of Rochdale stood for "one member one vote" and equal rights for men and women: for democracy. They combined the appeal to self-interest in a lowered cost of living with the appeal to social betterment in devoting a part of the surplus to education of the public. They sought to substitute an economy of use for an economy of profit but to do so by gradual means, trusting to example and persuasion not to denunciation, class strife and revolution. They refused to undercut prevailing local prices lest their reductions to members harm ordinary dealers. The capital was to be provided entirely by the members, at the legal rate of interest, but all members were to receive refunds from the surplus earned in the business in proportion to the amount of their purchases. These socially minded rules have survived a century of testing. If there are to be cooperative societies, then, they should be founded substantially upon these principles, which are obviously not only in accord with Christian ethical ideals, but may also be accepted by all men of goodwill. Kagawa's contention that cooperative societies are the best economic expression of love yet invented manifestly rests upon rather strong grounds. Furthermore, he could maintain that wherever they have been established, the benefits have far outweighed the disadvantages, and that this is true even though some of the societies have been managed by incompetent men and have been composed of members who only dimly grasped the force of the principles.

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[28] Ibid., pp. 252-253.

[29] Kagawa, Economic Foundation of World Peace, p. 35.

At this point, some judicial mind may protest that the cooperative societies are still on trial and that the Church should certainly strive mightily to apply love to economics, but to commit itself to the cooperative technique as the panacea would be quite premature. This criticism may be valid, and Kagawa may accept it, if, and only if, someone will bring an alternative method. However, activist Kagawa certainly found the best principle in cooperative societies and wanted to practice it.

III. INTERNATIONAL PEACE

A universal economic order based on cooperative societies is a practicable ideal. After they have become strong and fairly inclusive in single nations, reciprocal operations among them can be gradually extended to all nations. This is the surest road to international peace. The increasing interest in Kagawa's effort to incarnate Christ in international peace is observed in the later stage of his life.[30] Again, the cooperative movement makes a tremendous appeal to the church with two major reasons of gradualism and non-violence.

In the first place, it offers a program of gradualism which, at the same time, affords its adherents a chance for immediate activity. It does not require an initial overthrow of existing order. The cooperator merely seeks to set up an enclave within the existing order, an enclave which he believes will gradually enlarge to absorb the whole. Plainly, this is a process which need not, and probably will not, involve pitched battle with the beneficiaries of the present scheme of things. Moreover, while the movement toward a cooperative society is thus gradual, it may begin at once in definite and not too difficult acts to be performed by individuals.

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[30] Kagawa, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

hundreds of ministers, having preached on the need for a righteous social order, must have had the experience of being confronted by parishioners who asked to be shown a definite part in bringing such an order to pass. This has been a difficult request to answer. No such difficulty besets the minister who champions the cooperative technique. Asked to guide a parishioner who would express his social concern in action, he need not delay in offering counsel to join the cooperative. Kagawa declares:

> Is there anything better, as a method of emancipation, than the grim effectiveness of violent revolution? To some, whose patience is exhausted, history speaks in the negative. They point to the long record of wars for freedom....History says yes!...The Kingdom of God Movement has abundant historical precedent. History has hidden its most precious nuggets beneath those overemphasized records of political wars and doctrinal controversies. Bit by bit, we are unearthing this priceless history of Love, of the Brotherhood Movement which as broken out again and again in spite of all opposition.[31]

In the second place, the cooperative movement attracts church interest because of its apparent compatibility with all those vague yet potent slogans which have long provided the stock vocabulary for religious idealism. Brotherhood, mutual aid, human equality, social solidarity--all these can be presented as attainable within a cooperative order without first wading through blood.

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[31] Toyohiko Kagawa, "The Kingdom of God Movement: Its Future Programme and Philosophy," The Japan Christian Quarterly VI (July, 1931), p. 212.

Kagawa's Jinkaku Shakai Shugi No Honshitsu (1949) concludes with the discussion of the possible World Federation of Nations. Kagawa believes "It is an event without precedent in the history of culture, that, in passing Article Nine of its New Constitution, the Japanese Diet declared it would abandon war forever."[32]

Japan's wartime outlook on the world was the recognition of the philosophy of war. The Japanese were taught that war expedited the progress of civilization. Kagawa declares:

> It is true that war enables the concentration of the energy of a nation, race or group. However, the protraction of such tension destroys society as is clear from the history of the rise and fall of the nations of the world.[33]

Moreover, he says:

> ...the real truth is the opposite of this myth of war as creating culture. It is precisely

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[32] Kagawa, Principle of Personalistic Socialism XIII, 286. Also, the Japanese Constitution's Article Nine reads as follows: "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as, other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized," promulgated on November 3, 1946, and became effective on May 3, 1947.

[33] Kagawa, op. cit., p. 287.

> because they fought too much that the aborigines of Australia forgot the arts of house building, sewing and even cooking. The Formosan headhunters and also cannibal tribes have degenerated similarly, and their degeneration is traceable to fighting. On the other hand, with the struggle for existence eliminated both animals and plants seem to have unlimited possibilities for growth and progress. An illustration is in the trees of Australia, the acacia and the eucalyptus. Each of these have produced many different varieties, nearly 580 in the one case and 250 in the other. The reason for their prolific species production is that there are hardly any other species of trees to be found on that continent. Everywhere in nature, it is found that decrease of species and retrogression are the results of fierce struggle for existence. And in the world of man, war retards and never helps forward the progress of civilization.[34]

By the renunciation of war Kagawa considered that Japan took the initiative in the realization of the Kingdom of God and in creating a new civilization for mankind. This is again fundamentally in accord with Kagawa's theology of the Incarnation of Christ in the secular world. For, he says:

> History is not materialistic as Marx holds. The march of history--its slow steps forward--takes place not merely on the material plane but chiefly in the evolution of man's inner consciousness. Accordingly a peaceful state cannot be durably built without the prior establishment of man's inner consciousness.[35]

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[34] *Ibid*.

[35] *Ibid*., p. 288.

Moreover he says:

> In the New Testament, the Book of Revelation is an exposition of the Christian philosophy of history. History seems to its author to be a record of the progress of a society which is bound together by love and sacrifice. These ties of fellowship are symbolized by the Lamb of God; while, the opposites of this Lamb are the Beast (Violence), and the Serpent (Iniquity) and Frog (False philosophy and false knowledge).[36]

Then, he concludes:

> The only way to create such a "society bound together by love and sacrifice" lies in the experience of the highest form of the consciousness of social solidarity which is redemptive love, or, in other words, Christianity.[37]

Kagawa considered the creation of World Government, proposed by Robert Hutchins to be a concrete expression of this society.[38] Here again, Kagawa's effort for the cause of world peace must be understood as one of his faithful efforts to incarnate Christ in a concrete sphere of human life. In this writer's opinion, Kagawa's concrete application of social, political, and economical theories and practices while not theological in the formal sense, are significant in that he consistently applied them in every day life. Therefore, this application must be seriously regarded in order to understand Kagawa's theological insight into the Kingdom of God.

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., pp. 289, 290; also cf. Yokoyama's Toyohiko Kagawa and His Works, pp. 9-15, for the brief chronology of Kagawa's work for world state and peace movement; also an essay, Kanji Koshio, "Kagawa Toyohiko and Heiwa Undo," Kagawa (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1960), pp. 125-141; also, Kagawa's essays, Sekai Heiwa Ron; Gunbi No Teppai Serareru Made; Senso Wa Boshishi Uruka; as well as other essays collected in the Zenshu vol. X.

IV. KINGDOM OF GOD

It is significant to contrast Kagawa with the teaching of John Calvin at this point. According to Calvin, man is a subject in two distinct kingdoms. Man belongs both to earth and to heaven, to the temporal and the eternal, subject to the secular law and recipient of the eternal Gospel, a being capable both of reason and of faith. In the spiritual kingdom, he is wholly free; in the temporal kingdom, he is totally in bondage. He is both a member of the church, the eternal Body of Christ, and subject to the temporal authority of secular magistrates and laws. He is instructed in the temporal realm largely by reason, tradition, and the authority of the great minds of the past, and in the spiritual realm by the Word of God as recorded in Holy Scripture.[39]

In the thought of Kagawa, on the contrary, the distinction of these two realms is not the primary task of theology. To be sure, the union of the two kingdoms will be fully realized at the consummation of all things. Nevertheless, Kagawa's matured concern is not to maintain the distinction between the two kingdoms but the realization of the ultimate Kingdom of God in this secular and penultimate realm. The radical dualistic and eschatological concerns of the Reformers are constantly remodeled into monistic and aesthetic concerns of this secular world in Kagawa's mind.

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[39] John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, II, trans. John Allen (Grand Rapids: Wm. Erdmans Publishing Company, 1949), p. 12.

Church and State. In Kagawa's view the state is a necessary institution created by God as an instrument of His will and drawing its authority directly from Him. Temporal government, for Kagawa, has a real dignity. Kagawa feels that in this emphasis he is restoring something long lost by the church.

The term "church" is somewhat ambiguous. It may be used to refer to the "Church Visible," that is, the empirically discernible body of baptized persons organized together for worship, instruction and fellowship and subordinated to religious authorities. Or, it may refer to the "Church Invisible," the eternal Body of Christ to which only those who are justified by faith belong, the true composition of which is known only to God. The Church Invisible is incorruptible, everlasting, and identical with the sanctorum communio.

Here again, Kagawa lays stress on the visibility of the church, and is seriously concerned with its worldly affairs. The worldly function of the church, Kagawa believes, must influence the function of the state. There is no area which is so exclusively either that of the Church or the state that the other has no concern with it. The temporal government is not concerned simply with the maintenance of of social life and external morality but also is charged with responsibility for the maintenance of the true worship and the service of God.[40]

Theology and Politics. Church and state relations may be identically treated in the relation between theology and politics. Kagawa realizes that neither theology nor philosophy is now the Queen of the Sciences but each is a "queen" within the confines of its own field. The theologian can make no pretension to being an authority on everything; he must recognize his competence as limited. Theology is concerned with matters of faith, and its authority is the Holy Scripture which in no sense sets out to be a politician's text book.

Nevertheless, the theologian must tell the politician that he should act like a Christian. The limitation Kagawa places upon theology seems to be this: theology can offer no foolproof guidance through all the dilemmas of political life, no universally valid blueprint of the ideal society, and the theologian as such has no special qualification for the exercise of political power. There should, however, be something of a dialogue, if only to insure that neither oversteps prescribed bounds. Political philosophy must never suggest that it can penetrate the heavenly Kingdom of God without theology. Theology must never suggest that it can rule the kingdom of this world. To be sure, political philosophy must truly be a manifestation of Christian truth. The ability to rule well is not simply the result of study of the right books and examples but the effort to incarnate Christ and his shokuzaiai in the human realm of political struggle.[41]

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[40] Kagawa, Kirisutokyo Shakai Shugiron (Studies in Christian Socialism), 253, 254.

The Law of Nature. Natural law is, for Kagawa, ultimately identical with divine law. Unlike Aquinas and most of the Scholastics, Kagawa never speaks of natural law as perfected or complemented by a "supernatural" law. There is only one law, even if it may be looked at from various points of view. The law has a "spiritual use" to convict of sin and point toward the Gospel, and a "civil use" to curb public immorality. But they are really one.

Again, in contrast to the Reformer's doctrine, Kagawa may be more clearly understood. For the Reformed tradition regards the relation of the divine law and the law of nature not as a simple identity. It is important to note that by the term "nature" in this context is meant the uncorrupted, ordered nature of man and the world before the Fall. Objectively considered, the law of nature is the law of God, absolute, unconditional, and binding on all men. Unlike the revealed law of God which was given to a particular people, the law of nature is in principle knowable by all men.[42]

Kagawa, on the other hand, takes his stand that natural law is a divine manifestation of spiritual value in the law of the descriptive sciences. In order to understand Kagawa's cognitive presuppositions of this discussion, the inseparability of value and being must be clearly understood as Kagawa understood them to be.

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[41] Kagawa, Kagawa Toyohiko Daikouenshu (Collection of Lectures by Kagawa), X, 179-180.

[42] Kagawa, Sekaikkoka (World State), X, 383-390.

Being and Value. This is the axiom of intelligibility which constitutes the underlying presupposition, and ultimately the driving force of all Kagawa's writings.[43] Insofar as this is true, the driving force of this tradition is idealistic in the more fundamental and metaphysical sense, although, as this writer sees the position, it is beyond idealism and realism in the epistemological sense.

This characteristic presupposition of Kagawa's writings is an essential part of his philosophy. Ultimately being and value are inseparable, that is, the validity of human values rests upon the fact that they are grounded in being, while the significance of being rests upon the fact that being includes values as part of its nature. This was technically expressed in the doctrine of "transcendentals." Whatever is, insofar as it is or has being, is at the same time, and for this very reason, also true, good and beautiful. The humblest form of existence exhibits the inseparable privileges of being which are truth, goodness and beauty. These transcendentals are not predicates in the ordinary sense that being might have them or have them not; rather, they are inseparable from being as such. This is Kagawa's axiom of intelligibility, the inseparability of being and value, which underlies Kagawa's writings in all its forms and expressions. By this very doctrine, it has already placed itself beyond realism and idealism in the narrow modern sense for it includes in it the motives of both. It is true that in Kagawa's version of theology, substance is first in the order of knowledge but this does not mean that it is first in the order of being. From this more ultimate point of view, being and value are equally primal. All reality, therefore, has meaning, is "intelligible." The basic assumption is that it is more than realism and idealism in the epistemological sense. It is the very essence of metaphysical idealism as one has come to understand it.

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[43] Kagawa, Philosophy of My Life, p. 24.

Kagawa's theology is of course realistic in the sense that any theology is realistic. For it every truth is *veritas ontologica*. The ground of truth lies in an antecedent reality but only because reality itself is the realization of a spiritual content or "idea." Only so do things possess a meaning and a sense. Further, the *Logos* or idea in the real is understandable only because of the highest *Logos* or divine light. A realistic epistemology, in the sense of the reality of ideas, is a necessary presupposition of this philosophy as it is of its teleological world view, and of the absoluteness of one's knowledge as of his values and norms. But realism in the narrow sense of any modern epistemological discussion is not a necessary presupposition of Kagawa's theology.

The root principle of modern naturalistic realism is the divorce of being and value. If this divorce of being and value is rejected, if the cosmic significance of values is denied, then, there is no significant difference between epistemological realism and idealism. The initial option which determines Kagawa's entire theology is embodied in the doctrine of the "transcendentals." That the antecedent being is a fundamental notion of all philosophy is beyond question. This means that the nature of things is not to be sought primarily in the nature of knowledge. Or, it is indeed the emancipation of metaphysics from epistemology. For, as Kagawa suggests, man's mind is so made that it cannot formulate a single proposition without relating it to some being. Man cannot speak about that which is not. This is the primary element in all analyses of knowledge.[44] Nevertheless, the classical objection to the view that being is the first principle of all human knowledge is that from such a vague idea as that of being alone, no distinct knowledge can be developed or deduced. Kagawa objects vigorously to such an opinion. For, as soon as it comes into touch with sensible experience, the human intellect elicits the immediate intuition of being. However, from the intuition that something is, the knowledge of what it is, beyond the fact that it is something, cannot be deduced; nor is it the task of the intellect to deduce it. The intellect does not deduce, it intuits, it sees and in the light of the intellectual intuition, the discursive power of reason slowly builds up from experience a knowledge of concrete reality.

Although it is ordinarily assumed that the break with traditional philosophy began with Descartes, the break began rather with Locke's physiology of knowledge. It implied already a naturalization of the intelligence which needed only to be confirmed by Darwinism to be extended to the entire spirit of man. The key to the understanding of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is then the fight of idealism with naturalism or, in its epistemological form, of transcendentalism with sensationalism. Modernism is the story of the triumph of naturalism and positivism in every form of human life and culture.

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[44] _Ibid._, p. 25.

Assuming the truth of this thesis of Kagawa, his theological thought first becomes understandable. For Kagawa's understanding of man as more than empirical and natural, and as linked with supernatural values, is a reaffirmation, in opposition to sensationalistic naturalism, of the driving force of the entire life of Kagawa. He attempted valiantly to stem the tide of naturalism, already implied in Locke's physiology of knowledge, and thus, the epistemological problem becomes central. For Kagawa knowledge is not possible, i.e., intelligible, except on the basis of the presupposition of the transcendental mind. Values are not possible except on the assumption of a transcendental free subject. Indeed, in the entire writings of Kagawa, knowledge itself is possible only on the presupposition and postulate of freedom for reason in all its forms is oriented towards the good. By identifying the judgment of true and false and the judgment of value, Kagawa honestly attempts to combine an empirical realism with a transcendental idealism. For the "either-or" of the exclusive empirical realist and the transcendental idealist, Kagawa is constantly saying "both-and." His epistemology is a continuation of the attempt to restore traditional theology in a new form. It takes, God, not man, as its starting point, being, not sensation, as its initial option.[45] God becomes the center of the world and the subjectivism which followed from starting with man, and the physiology of his knowledge, was transcended in a conception which again connected the human and the divine Logos. These are then Kagawa's presuppositions and postulates from which he cannot free himself. It is Kagawa's contention that it is the acknowledgement of these necessary presuppositions which constitutes the essence of his theological view.[46]

V. CHRISTUS CONSUMMATOR

Christian leadership is essential to one's success since any such leadership must rest upon ethical principles which are found preeminently in Christianity. It must not be thought that Kagawa has abandoned his early spiritual vision for sociology. He brought to his wide studies of international affairs, industrial laws and the relations of labor and capital, one great premise and one burning conviction:

> Love alone can subdue the world....Conquest by the sword is but for the moment; it has no validity whatever. Love binds society together from within....Love can never be annihilated.... I stand against all learning, all institutions,

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[45] Ibid., p. 26.

[46] Ibid., p. 29.

> all governments, all arts, all religions which preaches faith and fail to love. I oppose the politicians who rely on force and know nothing about love....But, love cannot be born in a day. Therefore the mob chooses the easy way of the sword.[47]

Here the primacy of Christ and His Love is exalted as Kagawa's life and writings proved without any point of doubt. He was a Christian socialdist and his sole objective in life was to glorify and magnify the divine in every possible and concrete realm of mankind. His teaching was in this sense Christological for Kagawa understood God only through the person and work of Jesus Christ as the revealer of the Truth. His view of the church, however, was the controversial issue.

Kagawa saw the possibility of relating the doctrine of the Church to the doctrine of mankind as recapitulated in the Second Adam. He saw the possibility of applying the sacramental principle to the common life no less than to the institutional Church. Hence, his various writings on the topic of interpreting the Christian faith through the structures of society imply the social sacramentalism of Stewart Headlam and Scott Holland,[48] and the Church as the Israel of God.[49]

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[47] Kagawa, Love, the Law of Life, VII, 85-86.

[48] Arthur M. Ramsey, An Era in Anglican Theology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), pp. 12-15.

[49] Kagawa, Seisho Shakaigaku No Kenkyu (Studies in the Society of the Bible), VII, 5ff.

The contrast between the theologians of the Japanese Church and Kagawa's idea of the Church is similar to that between the Latin and Alexandrine outlook. However, the roots of the contrast are within the Bible. There the Church is a society with an historical origin and a boundary, standing against the world. There, also, the church is inherent in the creation of mankind and definable as the whole race of mankind redeemed.[50] Dogmatic theology was not Kagawa's primary task. Rather, Kagawa finds theology to be mediated through a deep devotion to the United Church of Christ in Japan of which he was a faithful minister.

The ministry of Kagawa was one of immense activity as preacher, evangelist, social reformer and educator. It was spent in every corner of Japan. His life in the slums of Shinkawa brought him into touch with men, women and children of the poorest classes, and set his mind at work upon a legion of social questions. In 1921, Kagawa led the labor dispute at the Kawasaki dockyard and the Mitsubishi dockyard in Kobe, the biggest labor dispute in the history of Japan. It resulted in the defeat of the workers but the peaceful methods of dispute they employed were worth recording in the history of the Japanese labor union movement. It was with Shiseno Koete (Across the Death Line) that Kagawa's great number of publications were continually sent to the publishers on such subjects as religion, Biblical Studies, religious education, social research and cooperatives, fiction, poems, juveniles and translation works. They total 164 volumes and 50,348 pages.

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[50] Michalson, op. cit., p. 46.

If he preached too much and published too many books so that the volumes are often repetitive, the message never seems stale because he loved his fellowman, and walked humbly with his God. What chiefly moved Kagawa to passionate evangelism was his conviction that the truth of God was near to men and women in its self-authenticating force, if only men would be content to say what the truth is and not to confuse it with dogmas which are less orthodox than they are sound. Kagawa's point was an extraordinary difficult one for his contemporary church to grasp.

There was the growing complaint about Kagawa's socialism which is to be dealt with separately from his Christian faith. However, as one examines Kagawa's life more closely, an underlying unity is seen. Examples are found in his work in the Japanese slums and in his decision to aid the farmers and the industrial workers. Thus, Kagawa becomes the man with the many-sided personality. The cooperative movements and the Peasant's Gospel School sprang from the same theological roots as the series of his "Meditations." Kagawa proposes to the reader of Shakai Kakumei To Seishin Kakumei that the revolution of Japanese society must start within the Japanese soul.[51] It is not the revolution by violence but the revolution of spiritual power. While the Japanese church saw in the revolutionary change of the time something to be kept at bay by the building of a wall of supernatural doctrine and other worldly anti-rationalism, Kagawa saw in those forces a set of aspirations to be met by churchmen upon their own level and, if not to be corrected and purged, at least, to be spoken to with some appreciation. This was essentially the method which Kagawa had employed in *Shakai Kakumei To Seishin Kakumei* in the stricter field of theology. Just as he met Buddhist, Confucian, Shintoist on their own ground, trying to fulfill all righteousness and to employ the principle of *Christus Consummator*, so now he does the same, in a different context, with violent men with empty stomachs and crude ideas about the ways of improving their lot.

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[51] Kagawa, Shakai Kakumei To Seishin Kakumei (Social Revolution and Spiritual Revolution), 263.

Hence, Kagawa's Brotherhood Movement meant in practice two things. First, it meant commending the Christian faith to people by knowing and understanding their aspirations. In doing this, Kagawa was too good a theologian to treat the Gospel as a panacea. The Gospel remains the Gospel with its correlative demand of brotherly conduct between man and man.[52] Secondly, it meant inducing working people to look after one another and themselves in a Christian way.[53]

Indeed, Kagawa does what no dogmatic theologian of his time succeeded in doing, and what few dogmatic theologians of any time have done--he meets other people on their own ground. Thus, he examines in turn the positive convictions of Confucianist, Laotzean, Buddhist, Shintoist and of contemporary philosophers. He draws out with sympathy the positive principle of each; he acknowledges whatever validity that positive principle possesses; and he goes on to show how in each case the positive principle fails to maintain itself as a result of being twisted into a self-contained system.[54]

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[52] Kagawa, *Emancipation Through God*, V, 72.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Finally, he turns from the partial religious systems with their divisive tendencies. He asks what are the signs of an universal Kingdom which goes beyond these systems. Kagawa sets himself not just to expound truth as he sees it but to know and to understand his Confucian, his Laotzean and his Shintoist teachings. He can describe what the _jin_ means to a Confucian, what it is that the Laotzean is really saying when he demands absolute obedience to _tao_ whose absence he fears in contemporary dogmatic Christianity, what _nirvana_ means to a Buddhist. But to this patient understanding, Kagawa adds a vigorous exposure of fallacies. The Confucian limits his own positive principle of the _jin_ by failing to see how the _shokuzai_ consciousness is its clue, and in consequence, his _jin_ becomes individualistic and corrupted.[55] The Laotzean, because he treats his principle of absolute obedience to _tao_ as a shibboleth, slips from faith in the Heavenly Way into a belief in the intuitive affirmation of the Laotzean formalism of human experience.[56] The Buddhist is concerned to maintain at all costs the Way of the Englightenment but shies away at the central fact, God of God, light of light.

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[54] Cf. Kagawa's _Re-thinking Oriental Philosophy_, XIII, 83-148.

[55] _Ibid_., p. 90.

[56] _Ibid_., p. 96.

It is systems which are everywhere at fault, the systems made by the orthodox no less than those made by heretics; and Kagawa turns several times in his books to the errors of the Japanese Church.[57] Two especially receive his attention, the Church's tendency to regard dogma as a means whereby men strive to win contact with an absent Christ, as if to climb up to heaven to bring Christ down, instead of proclaiming Christ to be nigh already to men in their hearts.[58] Also, there is the Church's tendency to substitute a belief in a structure of reasoning for faith in Christ Himself.[59] Kagawa regarded the latter tendency as the recurring temptation of all whose business it is to reason about their faith and the Church's tendency to show indifference to humanistic naturalism, and the church's tendency to observe the individual to the exclusion of social consciousness.[60]

Kagawa now turns to a concrete statement as his views. Is there in existence a divine society? Kagawa finds such a society described in the Scripture. Israel is the Church of God--first a family, then a nation, wherein king, priest and prophet, temple, law and sacrifice are elements in one inseparable unity. He was, like any other Christian of his day, contending for the dogma of the Church of Jesus Christ, but his methods and his emphasis were different from theirs. They viewed the Church as the home of the redeemed, full of grace and truth, in contrast with a sinful age where grace was repudiated. Kagawa viewed the church not only as the home of the redeemed but as the sign that God had redeemed the whole human race and that the whole human race was potentially in Christ. This led him to combine an insistence upon the definite character of the signs of the Church's constitution with an unwillingness to define the Church's present boundaries. Nevertheless, Kagawa gives prominence to the development of the love of brotherhood in church history.[61] Because he connected the doctrine of the Church with the doctrine of Creation, he looked upon the characterisitic movements of thought of the age not simply as enemies to be fought in the Japanese church but as half lights to be cleansed and fulfilled. To the conception of _Christus Consummator_, he added that of _Ecclesia Consummatrix_.

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[57] Cf. Kagawa's Attitude Toward Affliction, II, 149; Kagawa's Meditations on the Cross, II, 169; Tomio Muto, "Watashino Mita Kagawa Toyohiko" Hyakusanninno Kagawaden. (Tokyo: Kirisuto Shinbunsha, 1961), p. 406; also Kyozo Ogawa, "Majika Ni Mita Kagawa Sensei," ibid., p. 471.

[58] Kagawa, Sangyo Kumiai No Honshitsu To Jitssai (The Principles and Progress of Cooperatives), XI, 289.

[59] Kagaea, Kirisutokyo Kyodaiai To Keizai Kaizo (Christian Brotherhood Love and Economical Re-construction), XI, 224.

[60] Ibid., pp. 173 and 178.

To Kagawa the context of redemption was a world not to be ruled by the evil one but already redeemed by Christ. Every child is born into a world already redeemed, and in realizing full-consciousness of this _shokuzaiai_ of God through Jesus Christ, this truth is proclaimed and the child is put into relation with it. The Japanese church seemed to Kagawa, no doubt unjustly, to postulate a change in the divine favor elicited by the formal membership in the exlusive institutionalized church. According to the church of Japan, Kagawa's theology seemed to deny that anything happened in the life of a Christian at the time of conversion or at the time he became a member of the church through the sacraments. But, to Kagawa this was of a lesser importance than what had already happened in the redemption of mankind by the Son of God. In redemption, one becomes what he is as man made in God's image; in the fullness of his consciousness of shokuzaiai in Christ, one becomes what he is as a member of a redeemed human race.

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[61] _Ibid_., p. 192.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The starting point of this dissertation was the acceptance of Muto's view that Kagawa may be studied theologically. Although he was not a theologian in the sense of writing formal textbooks on the subject, yet his many writings provide sufficient data for him to be regarded as a theologian. Muto also suggested that the systematization of Kagawa's theological ideas is left to be completed by Japanese theologians.[1] This dissertation is an attempt to make a contribution to such a task. It has been six years since Kagawa's death, and his writings are now collected in the *Kagawa Toyohiko Zenshu*. Thus it is timely to begin such a work.

In the first two chapters, various factors of Kagawa's life and religio-social environment which led him to his conversion experience were carefully observed. Then Kagawa's idea of God was set forth in Chapter III. In Chapter IV, the ideas of man and his sin were considered. His view of salvation was discussed in Chapter V. And the ideas of church or brotherhood in Chapter VI were studied. These cardinal doctrines of the Christian Church are cohesively united with the central thought: *shokuzaiai* or redemptive love. This writer concludes his investigation of Kagawa's writings with the conviction that he was truly a theological thinker in spite of the many contrary opinions. This dissertation is an attempt to defend this judgment.

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[1] Tomio Muto, *Apostle Paul and Kagawa Toyohiko*, p. 9.

To summarize here what has been said in the course of the analysis would be repetitious. Insofar as the presentation has dealt with these central ideas cited above, it would seem to be complete. In this closing chapter, however, two fundamental questions should be raised: Kagawa's theological methodology and his understanding of evil.[2] The former was chosen in the attempt to answer the criticism that Kagawa was not a theological thinker. The latter was to evaluate critically the major problem of his idea of shokuzaiai in relation to the understanding of evil which is considered to be the major issue of theology in Kagawa's entire life.

I. KAGAWA'S THEOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY

The relation of faith and reason is fundamental in Theological Method. Kagawa does not suppose that reason can operate in abstraction from the ongoing life process or even from basic faith commitments. He seems to regard the required faith commitments as distinctively Christian.

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[2] This writer is aware of the fact that the term, "evil," commonly indicates natural evil. However, "evil" includes both natural and moral evils in Kagawa's writings. Thus sin is included in "evil."

Therefore, in Kagawa's system the question is raised: Has religion an independent value beside the more generally recognized values epistemological, aesthetic and ethical) or can it be traced back to one of these? The answer to this question is found in a process of reasoning in which he first differentiates religion from ethics, aesthetics, and knowledge, and then establishes a definite relationship between religion on the one hand and knowledge, aesthetics and ethics on the other. Religion must be differentiated from other fields of study because it is seen as something unique and independent.

The task of Kagawa was to show that religion stands in a necessary connection with culture insofar as culture in its entirety rests on presuppositions which are realized only in religion. One must go beyond the politico-economic values in order to see on what conditions anything may be accepted as true, good and beautiful. The development of Kagawa's program is that of the deduction of the fundamental category of religion which is arrived at by showing that shokuzaiai is presupposed as soon as the good, the beautiful and the true are mentioned. Redemptive love is presupposed in the totality of culture. Thus, while shokuzaiai is only understood in knowledge, ethics and aesthetics, in religion this presupposition is finally realized. Therefore the category of shokuzaiai is the fundamental category of religion. What the other forms of culture require as their foundation, religion promises to give. Thus, the climax of Kagawa's argument arrives: Religion is necessary, universal and inseparable from the nature of man.

At the center of this necessity the religion of Jesus is an essential and integrating factor in consciousness. To be sure, the religion of Jesus offers the content of the *zen-ishiki* or full-consciousness. In Kagawa's theological epistemology, *zen-ishiki* as the religious category needs to be clearly distinguished from *han-ishiki* or semi-consciousness of the ethical category and *mu-ishiki* or unconsciousness of the material category. This *zen-ishiki* is empty and devoid of content until the concrete historical religion of Jesus offered the answer to the question of *shokuzaiai*. The *shokuzaiai* which is historically manifested in Jesus as the Christ, then, is the center of Kagawa's theology. Any philosophy of religion has established only that it is meaningful and legitimate to *ask* about *shokuzaiai*. The concrete answer for Kagawa is to be found only in the religion of Jesus.

It may be argued that reason has established the objective reality of the universal religious value. It becomes the task of theology to deal with the question of the objective reality of a given religion such as Christianity and of the validity of its claim to transcendence. For Kagawa, the task of theology is to teach the religion of Jesus, which is historically given. For the question about the truth of Christianity cannot be raised by scientific theology, much less can it be answered.

Kagawa seems to accept the universally supported principles of many Oriental religions as a step on the way toward the truth of Christianity. One could then assume that these principles would mean something positive. When Kagawa's system has become stabilized, the principles of other religions is seen as a step on the way to a correct description of the fundamental motif in the various religions. All these fundamental motifs are valid, and from a scientific point of view, all are equally true.[3]

Critical philosophy may ask many questions about religion *per se*. But theology is aware of its task to present as accurately as possible the answer of Christianity to one question: the question about *shokuzaiai* and its place in human fellowship. The task of systematic theology seems to be to set forth answers to the question.

Kagawa is usually identified as the fountainhead of liberal theology in Japan. Along with Schleiermacher and Bushnell, his parallels in Germany and America, he stands within the romantic tradition. Kagawa's romanticism is apparent in his belief that the basic affirmation concerning religion must be that religion is Life. This affirmation entails a denial of the possibility of exact theological statements and also a denial that the essence of religion can be grasped intellectually. True religion is known only in the total response of the whole person, emotional as well as academic.

In construing religion as Life, Kagawa means that the essence of religion is experiential, the experience of the Life of God in the life of man. Although there is no way to capitalize the letter "L" in the Japanese language, if Kagawa were writing in English he would capitalize the term, "Life." Thus it is clear that he did not intend to reduce religion to ethics. By making religion the experience of the Life of God in the life of man, Kagawa places the locus of religion in the heart. Religion involves feeling, emotion, sentiments, experience. True religion in mystical. While ethics and intellectual understanding are implied in religion, its essence is invariably the experience of God. While the basic meaning of this experience cannot be expressed in precise propositions, Kagawa does use such equivalent phrases as "Meditations on the Cross," "intuitive knowledge of God," and "inspiration." This emphasis on the heart reveals most clearly Kagawa's romanticism.

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[3] Ernst Benz, "Ideas for a Theology of the History of Religion," *The Theology of the Christian Mission* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 146-7.

If religion resides in the will, one might logically expect that a significant part of theological endeavor will be concerned with ethics. If, on the other hand, religion is given an intellectual emphasis, one will not be surprised to find a concern for theological precision and formulation. Since, for Kagawa, religion is basically concerned with the subjective experience of God, there are certain important implications for his thinking upon the nature of theology.

For Kagawa the methods of theology are basically two: the rationalistic and the imaginative.[4] Coleridge took from Kant the

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[4] Kagawa, Meditations About God, III, 69; cf. also Harold Hoffding, A History of Modern Philosophy (New York: Dover Publications, 1955) vol. II., p. 375.

the distinction between the understanding as a faculty of forming categories and the reason as the faculty of forming ideas of the unconditioned. Kagawa perpetuates this distinction under the terms: "philosophy" and "practical things of life" which cannot be understood by philosophical categories. In this scheme, reasoning is the activity of the understanding. The rationalistic theological tradition seemed to ignore the imagination in favor of the understanding. The rationalistic method held that theological language could convey to the human understanding literal truths in propositional form. It granted that there is figurative language in religion but it also maintained that religious language contains literal terminology. It granted that there is figurative language in religion but its metaphors and images were the tools of eloquence which could be reduced to literal statements by the qualified scholar.[5] When Kagawa denied the validity of such a view of theological language, he contributed substantially to the inability of his opponents to understand him.

Kagawa sees that for the most part to Japanese theologians the understanding was the final judge. The rationalistic method of theology which Kagawa found dominant in the Japanese Church of his day was a major cause of sectarianism. The error of rationalism was that it held its theories and propositions too literally. In advancing his own view, Kagawa does not hold them as literal truth. For example,

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[5] Barbara Cross, Horace Bushnell: Minister to a Changing America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 99.

Kagawa did not define who God is in his Meditations about God. Rather, it was Kagawa's effort to explain to the Japanese intellectuals' skeptical mind about God in such a way as to make them become aware for themselves who God is.[6] As metaphors and images addressed to the imagination, they serve the Life of God rather than subjecting it to the notions and opinions of the understanding. Not only is the rationalist method of theology undesirable, its practitioners did not realize that it is impossible. Theology is for many dogmatic theologians in Japan supposed to be a speculative system of doctrine, drawn out in propositions that are devoid of all metaphor and stated in terms that have finally obtained a literal and exact sense. No such system is possible for Kagawa because of the very plain reason that men have no such terms.

Kagawa is not opposed to theology, but he holds that theology must be distinguished from formalistic dogma. While dogma is of the head, there is another knowledge which is of the heart and in which sensibility is more important than reason. For Kagawa Christianity was not dogma. It can be taught only by the Spirit.

Kagawa saw that dogma as the guardian of purity had become the major concern in the Japanese Church. Faith, right feeling, the sensibility of the soul, intuitive meiso of the soul, had all been smothered under a blanket of human reasoning. Dogma, having its locus in the understanding, can exist even when one's intuitive meiso ceases to be, and when this happens all that men have to work on is the propositions. Kagawa's theological method of meiso makes the production of Christian theology the task of those who stand distinctively within the Christian brotherhood with shakai-rentai-sekinin-ishiki by reason of a common religious experience. All of Kagawa's theology revolves around the experience of Divine Life in man, the continued existence of which is a prerequisite for the theologian. When Paul taught that spiritual things were to be spiritually discerned, he intended that this not only find its way into theological systems but, also, into the total work of the theologian.

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[6] Muto, "Kaisetsu," Kagawa Toyohiko Zenshu, III, 492.

By placing an emphasis on Life and the immanence of Life in man's life over dogma, Kagawa did not intend to discard theology. He meant to place meiso and faith in proper perspective by filling those faculties which are theologically productive with the same Divine Life which animates the heart. The result is to be a theology which not only finds its source in the Divine Life but is a vehicle of that Life as well. Kagawa's poetic method of expression based upon the immediate knowledge of God in inspiration, provides a unitive knowledge of God. Thus, Kagawa is labeled as a mystic. He does not shrink from the term, and even recommends that his followers read the mystics and the quietists. Since this is the nature of Christianity, it follows that the Christian message is to be comprehended not by the intellect but by the imagination. Kagawa uses many terms which are interchangeable with "imagination."

Since the truth in view is the experience of the Life of God, comprehension involves verification. The truths of religion are verified in experience. Hence, the method of all the higher truths of religion is different, being the method of faith, a verification by the heart, and not by the notions of the head. Essentially, religion is Life. Separated from the Life of God there is neither theologian nor theology. Isolated from the Divine Life, theological symbols appear contradictory and absurd, and the Bible becomes a dead book. The Life of God is indispensable to a formulation of theological symbols as well as to man's ability to apprehend the truth to which the theological statements point. When what is offered to the imagination is received in meiso and prayer, the Life of God enters the Life of man. The experiental element, the essence of religion for Kagawa, is necessary in all theological endeavor.

Kagawa often uses the word "incarnation" to translate his spiritual experiences in his imaginative function into his social services which alone are a necessary result of his spiritual experience. Thus his mystic experience was both passively experienced and actively expressed. Yet the question remains whether mysticism is genuinely scriptural, even in its Christian form. To be sure, this avoids the more serious errors of the mysticism which finally identifies God and the soul, or teaches a total absorption rather than a union of love and will.

Often Kagawa has been criticized in that his mysticism seems to rest on a false assumption in its search for directness of immediacy of union or communion between the soul and God. The whole point of God's coming and work in Christ, and the present co-ministry of word and sacrament, is that "no man hath seen God at any time" (John 1:18 KJV), and that the eyes of the inward understanding can now be opened by the Holy Spirit only as one looks on the incarnate, crucified and risen Son presented to mankind in the gospel.

Again Kagawa is criticized for his inevitable and unwilling subjectivism. Even the imitation of Christ is a repetition and the emphasis falls upon what "I" do rather than on what Christ has already done wholly and all sufficiently for "me." An ultimate preoccupation with self is the mark even of the denial of self, and it is in the self that truth and salvation are eventually found even though self and God may not ultimately be confused as they may well be even in Kagawa's mysticism.

After these methodological comments on Kagawa's theology, we now must turn his approach to the problem of evil which remained for Kagawa the major problem of his life-long theological thinking.

II. THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

The life-long problem of Toyohiko Kagawa was to investigate the source of evil, suffering, and conflict in the world and to study how one might solve these problems. This problem became Kagawa's life-long struggle. In his Hinmin Shinrino Kenkyu (Studies in the Psychologies of the Poor), he states: "the problem of universal evil has bothered me for some time. I have been thinking about it alone for several years."[7] In Iesuno Shukyoto Sonoshinri (Religion of Jesus), Kagawa states: "I have been caught by this problem (of evil) since I was about sixteen years of age. And, I found repulsive power in the universe."[8] In his Uchuno Mokuteki (Purpose of the Universe) he states: "It was when I was nineteen years of age, I came to struggle with the problem of universal evil...since then, I continued to study 'the universal evil and its salvation' at intervals in my busy social movement."[9]

There is no doubt that this problem was the foundation of Kagawa's weltanschauung, theology, and life of Christian service. The key to Kagawa's life and thought is found in it. It must be noted that his book, Purpose of the Universe, was the result of a half century's struggle with the problem of evil; Kagawa entitled it as the Purpose of the Universe rather than the "problem of universal evil." Muto considers that it was the result of Kagawa's struggle with the problem. In Kagawa's diligent study from astronomy to atomic structures, he discovered a purpose in every existence of the universe. Consequently his philosophy gradually takes a teleological approach of a vast and yet undivided expanse of the universe. Therefore, universal evil is to be understood only in relation to or contrast with the universal purpose.[10] It was a necessary and matured conclusion of his study of personal, social, natural and universal evils to turn away from them and aim at the purpose of the universe. The greatest truth of the universe is the reality of the redemptive love which was historically revealed in the person of Jesus as the Christ in His sacrifice both in His life and death, giving to mankind the _rentai-sekinin-ishiki_, or solidarity-responsibility consciousness.

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[7] Kagawa, Studies in the Psychologies of the Poor, VIII, 3.

[8] Kagawa, Religion of Jesus, I, 192.

[9] Kagawa, Purpose of the Universe, XIII, 291; Kagawa indicates that he was sixteen in the former and nineteen in the latter book. Although it may be outside the problem of this paper, this writer suggests that Kagawa was converted to Christianity when he was sixteen (1904); and had the mystical experience of meeting with God and being healed when he was nineteen.

Thus Kagawa declares:

> The redemptive religion of Jesus Christ is God's mercy and effort to recover wandering mankind once more through the suffering of the Cross of Jesus and through God's great agony for universal evil.[11]

Kagawa's struggle with evil naturally led him to the fact of redemptive love in Jesus Christ rather than to evil in itself. This approach to Kagawa gives his readers the right to undertake an analysis of what Kagawa unquestionably wishes to place central in theology, namely the triumph of redemptive love. To illustrate the centrality of this theme in the theology of Kagawa, this dissertation has been written.

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[10] Tomio Muto, "Kaisetsu," XIII, 291.

[11] Kagawa, _Religion of Jesus_, I, 169.

This will immediately confront his readers with the question whether this triumph is identical with the biblical conception of the triumph of redemptive love. Unquestionably, the tremendous debate centering around the theology of Kagawa touches a central concept of the Scriptures, namely, redemption. It is a deeply moving struggle in which the issue is none other than the euangelion, the good news, the joyful message of salvation.

Kagawa's optimism in the redemptive act of God in Jesus Christ seems to be gratefully acknowledged as the significant contribution to the church universal which, truly, the Scriptural teaching supports. As he comes to the climax of his treatment of the resurrection, Paul exalts, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" He answers his questions, "The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law," they immediately proceed, "But thanks be to God, which gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." (I Corinthians 15:55-57 KJV). This note of victory runs through the New Testament treatment of the work of Christ in redemption. Throughout the New Testament it is assumed that man's salvation rests entirely and only on what God has done in Christ. The atonement is the very central doctrine.

On the other hand, Kagawa throws a dark shadow in his understanding of sin and evil. Having taken the Augustinian solution of evil as privation of good, Kagawa insists that evil is not any kind of positive substance with an independent status and power of its own. On the contrary, it always consists in the going wrong of something that is in itself good. Being as such is good, and evil has a parasitic status as the privation, corruption, or perversion and imperfection of a good substance. Here Kagawa has no insight into a biblical teaching of sin as "Man's wrong relationship with God."[12] "Sin is guilt coupled with alienation from God."[13] The serious problem arises from his basic perspective of the structure of entire theological thought. Kagawa sees a sense of imperfection in evil in terms of cosmological and teleological ideas; consequently, he taught that it should be an impersonal manner which would not stress that man, as a person, feels guilt to God in terms of a wrong personal relationship in which something is positively violated.

Kagawa sees universal evil merely as imperfection which is explained as follows:

> He who does not face the way toward perfection is a sinner. Considered from this aspect of life, illusion, sickness and imperfection are sins. Considered from the aspect of personal relationships, lack of love, lawlessness and inconsistency are sins. Further, from God's view, ungodliness, disobedience and disbelief are sin.[14]

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[12] Mack B. Stokes, The Epic of Revelation, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961), p. 169.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Kagawa, Religion of Jesus, I, 165.

Sin is to cease to grow toward God's image. In short, it is imperfection.[15] When Kagawa describes sin in detail, he names negation of life, enervation, cessation of change and growth, illusion, imperfection, incompletion, sickness and others.[16] His theory of social work was also to reform the social evil which means exactly the imperfections in society and to formulate a perfect society. Kagawa seems to believe that he can secure this reformation by his own power, as Sumiya observes.[17] This seems to be the major aspect of Kagawa's theology which receives attacks from the Japanese church, i.e., Kagawa gave the impression of overconfidence in man's ability to participate in a solution of sin, and consequently, lesser consideration of the redemptive work of God in Jesus Christ. Kitamori expressed the general feeling of Japanese theologians against Kagawa when he said:

> Modern theology is principally deficient because it has no place for a conflict between wrath and love in God; therefore, it does not understand the pain in God, and by that same token, the cross remains an instrument of suffering without teeth. Ritschl rightly characterized Schleiermacher's theology as a love monism, but then proceeded to develop a doctrine of reconciliation that provided no means of mediating between God's wrath and his love.[18]

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[15] Kagawa, The Challenge of Redemptive Love, III, 398.

[16] Ibid., p. 389.

[17] Sumiya, Kagawa Toyohiko (Tokyo: Nippon Kirisuto Kyodan Shuppanbu, 1966), p. 189.

[18] Michalson, op. cit., p. 87.

Modern theology, in the word of Kitamori, does not retain the characteristic note of tragedy in the gospel which is the pain of God in the act of loving those he ought not to love. Sin as imperfection then must be the defective aspect of Kagawa's theology which may be traced into at least three sources in its origin.

First of all, Kagawa seems to have been influenced by Buddhism in which he was raised, particularly by Shinran's interpretation of Buddhism, which was one of the conspicuous features in the life of Buddhism. In the life of Buddhism, at the beginning of this century, one of the features was the rising interest in Shinran (1173-1262), the pietist reformer of the thirteenth century. In fact, Shinran's religion of absolute faith in Buddha's grace has as its counterpart a full recognition of all kinds of human weakness or sinfulness.[19] Anesaki of the University of Tokyo describes Shinranism in his article: "Social Unrest and Spiritual Agitation in Present-day Japan" as follows:

> Though not exactly justifying or advocating sins and passions, he (Shinran) emphasized that we could be saved even without purging ourselves from all the depravities of human nature because of the overwhelming strength of Buddha's saving power. This aspect of Shinran's religion could easily be used as endorsing the naturalistic or biological view of human life, and in the past various signs of this combination of pietism and

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[19] Kagawa, Attitude Toward Affliction, II, 135.

> naturalism have shown themselves.[20]

Shinran, the founder of the most important of all Pure Land sects of Buddhism, was motivated to acknowledge fully the wickedness of human nature, of the miseries and tragedies of life. Shinran, however, dialectically turned to the grace of Amida. For him, salvation truly depended upon nothing but the grace of Amida. Shinran even went so far as to say that wicked men might be more acceptable to Amida than good men, since the former threw themselves entirely on the mercy of the Buddha, while the latter might be tempted to think that their chances of salvation were improved by their own meritorious conduct. There is no doubt that Kagawa, being a Japanese, owed something to Shinran in his spiritual heritage. Anesaki, however, made a very significant observation that the modern followers of Shinran deny the necessity of remorse and contrition, while Shinran believes in them. On the contrary, they proceed to the delight of cancelling all sins and obstacles through the all-embracing mercy of Buddha. Anesaki criticizes this modern tendency saying:

> It is only one step from this joy in faith to a kind of glorification of human passions, and in fact, the new force in Shinranism lies in the free delight of life even in vice and passion.[21]

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[20] Masaharu, Anesaki, "Social Unrest and Spiritual Agitation in Present-day Japan," Harvard Theological Review, XV (October, 1922) p. 312.

[21] Ibid.

Kagawa may have had a strong influence from Shinran's optimism in Amida as a true way of salvation. In turn, his view of sin as imperfection must have come to be conceived.[22]

Secondly, Kagawa identifies God with evolution. "The man who says he believes in evolution but not in God, deceives himself," says Kagawa, "for it is a matter of difference in terms, not of variation in essence."[23] When one speaks of God he is using the language of subjective experience; when he speaks of evolution, he is using the vocabulary of objective science.[24] However, according to Kagawa, there is no ground for believing in evolution, in the sense of progress, except the experience of God which man has in his soul. He says:

> Thus, the idea of progress is subjective effort reflected objectively. When man glimpses the first rays of the dawning hope of progress, he, for the first time, becomes assured that there is evolution in the cosmos. When this hope is wanting, he thinks of the changes tending toward complexity in the cosmic structure merely as fetters binding mankind.[25]

With this background, evil is grasped as the necessary result of an evolutionary process. Thus, the fate of evil is eventual disappearance. Here Kagawa not as a theologian but as a philosopher with teleological weltanschauung, grasps evil in the natural process of evolution. In his Meditations About God he already develops part of his universal teleology dealing with such subjects as God and Science; God and Evolution and God and History.[26] Kagawa's weltanschauung was completed in Uchu Mokutekiron in which he institutes five categories for his universal epistemology; namely power, change, growth, selection and law. Muto explains their relationships one with another as follows:

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[22] Kagawa, Re-examination of Oriental Philosphy, XIII, 98.

[23] Kagawa, Love The Law of Life, VII, 208.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., pp. 206, 207.

> The point of departure toward the purpose begins with power, and the power receives change which grows toward purpose, eliminates obstacles and selects the best way and method. It must keep various stipulations and conditions in order to rise up to the purpose within the given circumstance and adjustment with environment which is a law.[27]

Sumiya explains why Kagawa used the evolutionary theory in theology:

> At the beginning of the twentieth century, Christianity faced and suffered from the conflict with natural science especially in relation to evolutionalism. It was also a serious problem for Kagawa to solve. From his days of youth, he captured the problematic aspect of nature as universal evil and dealt with evolutionalism in its relation to the universal evil. He did not consider evolution as a blind and accidental force.

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[26] Cf. chaps. II, IV, IX of Meditations About God, III, 10-24; 26-32; 51-59.

[27] Tomio Muto, "Kaisetsu," XIII, 465.

> On the contrary (he saw it) as the evolution of perfection.[28]

For Kagawa, Jesus Christ is the concrete manifestation of this perfection in the evolutionary process.[29]

Finally, although this writer believes Kagawa's view on sin as imperfection may be said to be the weakness of his theology, he must also admit that Kagawa's strength lay in his deep conviction of the power of redemptive love and its triumph over evil. For Kagawa, of primary importance was the decisive victory of redemptive love at the end. For "absolute trust in the universal will to repair is the only way of salvation."[30] No one can be justified in deleting the activity of the universal will to repair the evil and suffering of this universe.[31] This was Kagawa's weltanschauung which supported the entire activities of his life--from the slums to his social movement until the Kingdom of God Movement.[32] His entire system was founded upon the redemptive love in Jesus, the Christ as the full manifestation of God Who was the ultimate and final agent to repair the zure of the universe

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[28] Sumiya, op. cit., p. 190.

[29] Kagawa, Meditations on the Cross, III, 135.

[30] Muto, "Kaisetsu," XIII, 469.

[31] Ibid., p. 452.

[32] Sumiya, op. cit., p. 193.

Kagawa's definition of sin as imperfection and zure, and ultimately not reality is essentially identical with the Augustinian definition of sin as the privation of good. Evil existed as an axiological phenomenon yet without ontological reality. There is great optimism in the triumph of redemptive love. Kagawa suffered with social, natural and personal evils more than any average man can bear. He was concerned seriously with the understanding of evil in nature, society and people. Nevertheless, his optimism in the victory of God dominates the entire thought and life of Kagawa.

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